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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of Church-Power, are considered in their Connexion with the State of Learning and Philosophy, and the Political History of Europe during that Period;

BY THE LATE LEARNED

JOHN LAURENCE MOSHEIM, D. D.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN;

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN,

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES, CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, AND AN APPENDIX,

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION IN SIX VOLUMES,

CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY CHARLES COOTE, LL. D.

AND FURNISHED WITH

A DISSERTATION ON THE STATE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH,

BY THE RIGHT REV.

DR. GEORGE GLEIG OF STIRLING.

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A

SHORT VIEW, OR GENERAL SKETCH,

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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cent. xviii. Introductory observations.

I. THE History of the Christian Church during this period, instead of a few pages, would alone require a volume; such are the number and importance of the materials that it exhibits to an attentive inquirer. It is therefore to be hoped that, in due time, some able and impartial writer will employ his labors on this interesting subject. At the same time, to render the present work as complete as possible, and to give a certain clue to direct those who teach or who study ecclesiastical history, through a multitude of facts that have not yet been collected, or digested into a regular order, we shall draw a general sketch that will exhibit the principal outlines of the state of religion since the commencement of the eighteenth century. That this sketch may not swell to too great an extent, we shall omit the mention of the authors who have furnished materials for this period of church history. Those who are acquainted with modern literature must know, that there are innumerable productions extant, whence such a variety of lines and colors might be taken, as would render this rough and general draught a finished piece.

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Concerning the prosperous state of the church in general, and of the Romish church in particular.

II. The doctrines of Christianity have been propagated in Asia, Africa, and America, with equal zeal, both by the Protestant and Popish missionaries. But we cannot say the same thing of the true spirit of the Gospel, or of the religious discipline and institutions which it recommends to the observance of Christians; for it is an undeniable fact, that many of those whom the Romish missionaries have persuaded to renounce their false gods, are Christians only as far as an external profession and certain religious ceremonies go; and that, instead of departing from the superstitions of their ancestors, they observe them still, though under a different form. We have, indeed, pompous accounts of the mighty success with which the Jesuitical ministry has been attended among the barbarous and unenlightened nations; and the French Jesuits, in particular, are said to have converted innumerable multitudes in the course of their missions. This perhaps cannot be altogether denied, if we are to call those converts to Christianity who have received some faint and superficial notions of the doctrines of the Gospel; for it is well known, that several congregations of *such* Christians have been formed by the Jesuits in the East-Indies, and more especially in the Carnatic, the kingdoms of Madura and Marava, some territories on the coast of Malabar, in the kingdom of Tonquin, the Chinese empire, and also in certain provinces of America. These conversions have, in outward appearance, been carried on with particular success, since Antony Veri has had the direction of the foreign missions, and has taken such especial care, that neither hands should fail for this spiritual harvest, nor any expences be spared that might be necessary to the execution of such an arduous and important undertaking. But these pretended conversions, instead of effacing the infamy under which the Jesuits labor in consequence of the iniquitous conduct of their missionaries in former ages, have only served to augment it, and to shew their designs and practices in a still more odious

point of view; for they are known to be much more zealous in satisfying the demands of their avarice and ambition, than in promoting the cause of Christ, and are said to corrupt and modify, by a variety of inventions, the pure doctrine of the Gospel, in order to render it more generally palatable, and to increase the number of their ambiguous converts. CENT. XVIII.

III. A famous question arose in this century, relating to the conduct of the Jesuits in China, and their manner of promoting the cause of the Gospel, by permitting the new converts to observe the religious rites and customs of their ancestors. This question was decided to the disadvantage of the missionaries, in 1704, by Clement XI. who, by a solemn edict, forbade the Chinese Christians to practise the religious rites of their ancestors, and more especially those which are celebrated by the Chinese in honor of their deceased parents, and of their great lawgiver Confucius. This severe edict was, nevertheless, considerably mitigated in 1715, in order to appease, no doubt, the resentment of the Jesuits, whom it exasperated in the highest degree; for the pontiff allowed the missionaries to make use of the word *tien*, to express the divine nature, with the addition of the word *tchu*, to remove its ambiguity, and make it evident, that it was not the *heaven*, but the *Lord of heaven*, that the Christian doctors worshiped[a]: he also permitted the observance of those ceremonies which had so highly offended the adversaries of the Jesuits, on condition that they should be considered merely as marks of respect to their parents, and as tokens of civil homage to their lawgivers, without being abused to the purposes of superstition, or even being viewed in a religious point of light. In consequence of this second papal edict, considerable indulgence is granted to the Chinese converts: among other things, they have in their houses tablets, on which the names of their ancestors, and particularly of Confucius, are

The contest relating to the lawfulness of allowing the Chinese Christians to observe their ancient rites.

[a] The phrase *Tien Tchu* signifies the Lord of heaven.

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written in golden letters; they are allowed to light candles before these tablets, to make offerings to them of rich perfumes, victuals, fruits, and other delicacies, and even to prostrate the body before them until the head touches the ground. The same ceremony of prostration is performed by the Chinese Christians at the tombs of their ancestors.

The former edict, which was designed to prevent the motley mixture of Chinese superstition with the institutions of Christianity, was conveyed into China, in 1705, by cardinal Tournon, the pope's legate; and the second, which was of a more indulgent nature, was sent, in 1721, with Mezzabarba, who went to China with the same character. Neither the emperor nor the Jesuits were satisfied with these edicts. Tournon, who executed the orders of his spiritual employer with more zeal than prudence, was, by the express command of the emperor, thrown into prison, where he died in 1710. Mezzabarba, though more cautious and prudent, yet returned home without having succeeded in his negotiation; nor could the emperor be engaged, either by arguments or entreaties, to make any alteration in the institutions and customs of his ancestors [b]. At present the state of Christianity in China being extremely precarious and uncertain, this famous controversy is entirely suspended; and many reasons induce us to think, that both the pontiffs and the enemies of the Jesuits will unite in permitting the latter to depart from the rigor of the papal edicts, and to follow their own artful and insinuating methods of conversion; for they will both esteem it expedient and lawful to

[b] Tournon had been made, by the pope, patriarch of Antioch; and Mezzabarba, to add a certain degree of weight to his mission, was created patriarch of Alexandria. After his return, the latter was promoted to the bishopric of Lodi, a preferment which, though inferior in point of station to his imaginary patriarchate, was far more valuable in point of ease and profit. See a more ample account of this mission in Dr. Mosheim's Memoirs of the Christian Church in China.

submit to many inconveniences and abuses, rather than to risque the entire suppression of popery in China. CENT. XVIII.

IV. The attempts made since the commencement of the present century, by the English and Dutch, and more especially by the former, to diffuse the light of Christianity through the benighted regions of Asia and America, have been carried on with more assiduity and zeal than in the preceding age. That the Lutherans have borne their part in this salutary work appears abundantly from the Danish mission, planned with such piety in 1706 by Frederic IV. for the conversion of the Indians who inhabit the coast of Malabar, and attended with such remarkable success. This noble establishment, which surpasses all that have been yet erected for the propagation of the Gospel, not only subsists still in a flourishing state, but progressively acquires new degrees of perfection under the auspicious and munificent patronage of that excellent monarch Christian VI. We will, indeed, readily grant, that the converts to Christianity, made by the Danish missionaries, are less numerous than those which we find in the lists of the popish legates; but it may be affirmed, that they are much better Christians, and far excel the latter in sincerity and zeal. There is a great difference between Christians in reality, and Christians in appearance; and it is very certain, that the popish missionaries are much more ready than the protestant doctors, to admit into their communion proselytes, who have nothing of Christianity but the name. Protestant missions.

We have very imperfect accounts of the labors of the Russian clergy, the greatest part of whom are still involved in that gross ignorance which covered the most unenlightened ages of the church: but we learn, from the modern records of that nation, that some of their doctors have employed, with a certain degree of success, their zeal and industry in spreading the light of the Gospel in those provinces which border upon Siberia.

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Private enemies of the Gospel.

V. While the missionaries now mentioned exposed themselves to the greatest dangers and sufferings, in order to diffuse the light of divine truth among these remote and darkened nations, there arose in Europe, where the Gospel had obtained a firm footing, a multitude of adversaries, who shut their eyes upon its excellence, and endeavoured to eclipse its immortal lustre. There is no country in Europe where infidelity has not exhaled its poison; and scarcely any denomination of Christians among whom we may not find several persons, who either aim at the extinction of all religion, or at least endeavour to invalidate the authority of the Christian system. Some carry on these unhappy attempts in an open manner, others under the mask of a Christian profession; but no where have these enemies of the purest religion, and consequently of mankind, whom it was designed to render wise and happy, appeared with more effrontery and insolence, than under the free governments of Great-Britain and the United Provinces. In England, more especially, it is not uncommon to meet with books, in which, not only the doctrines of the Gospel, but also the perfections of the Deity, and the solemn obligations of piety and virtue, are impudently called in question, and turned into derision [c]. Such impious productions have cast a deserved

☞ [c] This observation, and the examples by which it is supported in the following sentence, stand in need of some correction. Many books have, indeed, been published in England against the divinity both of the Jewish and Christian dispensations; and it is justly to be lamented, that the inestimable blessing of religious liberty, which the wise and good have improved to the glory of Christianity, by setting its doctrines and precepts in a rational light, and bringing them back to their primitive simplicity, has been so far abused by the pride of some, and the ignorance and licentiousness of others, as to excite an opposition to the Christian system, which is both designed and adapted to lead men, through the paths of wisdom and virtue, to happiness and perfection. It is, nevertheless, carefully to be observed, that the most eminent of the English unbelievers were far from renouncing, at least in their writings and profession, the truths of what they call natural religion, or denying the

reproach on the names and memories of Toland, Collins, Tindal, and Woolston, a man of an inauspicious genius, who made the most audacious though senseless attempts to invalidate the miracles of Christ. Add to these Morgan, Chubb, Mandeville, and others. And writers of the same class will be soon found in all the countries of Europe, particularly in those where the Reformation has introduced a spirit of liberty, if mercenary booksellers are still allowed to publish, without distinction or reserve, every wretched production that is addressed to the passions of men, and designed to obliterate in their minds a sense of religion and virtue. CENT. XVIII.

VI. The sect of Atheists, by which, in strictness of speech, those only are to be meant who deny the existence and moral government of an infinitely wise and powerful Being, by whom all things subsist, is reduced to a very small number, and may be considered as almost totally extinct. Any who yet remain under the influence of this unaccountable delusion, adopt the system of Spinosa, and suppose the universe to be one vast substance, which excites and produces a great variety of motions, all uncontrollably necessary, by a sort of internal force, which they carefully avoid defining with perspicuity and precision. Atheists and Deists

The Deists, under which general denomination those are comprehended who deny the divine origin of the Gospel in particular, and are enemies to all revealed religion, form a motley tribe, which, on account of their jarring opinions, may be divided into different classes. The most decent, or to use a more proper expression, the least extravagant and insipid form of Deism, is that which aims at an association between Christianity and natural religion, and repre-

unchangeable excellence and obligations of virtue and morality. Dr. Mosheim is more especially in an error, when he places Collins, Tindal, Morgan, and Chubb, in the list of those who called in question the perfections of the Deity and the obligations of virtue: it was sufficient to put Mandeville, Woolston, and Toland, in this infamous class.

CENT. XVIII. sents the Gospel as no more than a republication of the original laws of nature and reason, that were more or less obliterated in the minds of men. This is the hypothesis of Tindal, Chubb, Mandeville, Morgan, and several others, if we are to give credit to their own declarations, which, indeed, ought not always to be done without caution. This also appears to have been the sentiment of an ingenious writer, whose eloquence has been ill employed in a book, entitled, Essential Religion distinguished from that which is only Accessory [d]; for the whole religious system of this author consists in the three following points:—That there is a God, that the world is governed by his wise providence, and that the soul is immortal; and he maintains, that it was to establish these three points by his ministry, that Jesus Christ came into the world.

The Romish church—and its pontiffs.

VII. The church of Rome has been governed, since the commencement of this century, by Clement XI. Innocent XIII. Benedict XIII. Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. who may be all considered as men of eminent wisdom, virtue, and learning, if we compare them with the pontiffs of the preceding ages. Clement XI. and Prosper Lambertini, who at present fills the papal chair under the title of Benedict XIV. [e], stand much higher in the list of literary fame than the other pontiffs now mentioned; and Benedict XIII. surpassed them all in piety, or at least in its appearance, which, in the whole of his conduct, was extraordinary and striking. It was he that conceived the laudable design of reforming many disorders in the

☞ [d] The original title of this book (which is supposed to have been written by one Muralt, a Swiss, author of the Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les François,) is as follows: 'Lettres sur la 'Religion essentielle à l'Homme, distinguée de ce qui n'en est 'que l'accessoire.' There have been several excellent refutations of this book published on the continent; among which the Lettres sur les vrais Principes de la Religion, composed by the late learned and ingenious M. Bouiller, deserve particular notice.

☞ [e] This history was published before the death of Benedict XIV.

church, and restraining the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy; and for this purpose, in 1725, he held a council in the palace of the Lateran, whose acts and decrees have been made public. But the event did not answer his expectations; nor is it probable that Benedict XIV. who is attempting the execution of the same worthy purpose, though by different means, will meet with better success. CENT. XVIII.

We must not omit observing here, that the modern bishops of Rome make but an indifferent figure in Europe, and exhibit little more than an empty shadow of the authority of the ancient pontiffs. Their prerogatives are diminished, and their power is restrained within very narrow bounds. The sovereign princes and states of Europe, who embrace their communion, no longer tremble at the thunder of the Vatican, but treat their anathemas with contempt. They, indeed, load the holy father with pompous titles, and treat him with all the external marks of veneration and respect; yet they have given a mortal blow to his authority, by the prudent and artful distinction they make between the court of Rome and the Roman pontiff; for, under the cover of this distinction, they buffet him with one hand, and stroke him with the other; and, under the most respectful profession of attachment to his person, oppose the measures, and diminish still more, from day to day, the authority of his court. A variety of modern transactions might be alleged in confirmation of this, and more especially the debates that have arisen in this century, between the court of Rome and those of France, Portugal, Naples, and Sardinia, in all of which that ghostly court has been obliged to yield, and to discover its insignificancy and weakness.

VIII. There have been no serious attempts made in recent times to bring about a reconciliation between the Protestant and Romish churches; for, notwithstanding the pacific projects formed by private persons with a view to this union, it is justly considered as an impracticable scheme. The difficulties

All prospect of a reconciliation between the Protestant and Romish communions entirely removed.

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Intestine divisions in the Romish church.

IX. The intestine discords, tumults, and divisions, that reigned in the Romish church, during the preceding century, were so far from being terminated in this, that new fuel was added to the flame. These divisions still subsist; and the animosities of the contending parties seem to grow more vehement from day to day. The Jesuits are at variance with the Dominicans, and some other religious orders, though these quarrels make little noise, and are carried on with some regard to decency and prudence; the Dominicans are on bad terms with the Franciscans; the controversy concerning the nature, lawfulness, and expediency of the Chinese ceremonies, still continues, at least in Europe; and were we to mention all the debates that divide the Romish church, which

boasts so much of its unity and infallibility, the enumeration would be almost endless. The controversy relating to Jansenism, one of the principal sources of that division which reigned within the papal jurisdiction, has been carried on with great spirit and animosity in France and in the Netherlands. The Jansenists, or, as they rather choose to be called, the disciples of Augustin, are inferior to their adversaries the Jesuits, in number, power, and influence; but they equal them in resolution, prudence, and learning, and surpass them in sanctity of manners and superstition, by which they excite the respect of the people. When their affairs take an unfavorable turn, and they are oppressed and persecuted by their victorious enemies, they find an asylum in the Low-Countries; for the greatest part of the catholics in the Spanish Netherlands, and all the Romanists who live under the jurisdiction of the United Provinces, embrace the principles and doctrines of Jansenius [f]. The latter have almost renounced their allegiance to the pope, though they profess a warm attachment to the doctrine and communion of the church of Rome; nor are either the exhortations or threats of the holy father, sufficient to subdue the obstinacy of these wayward children,

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☞ [f] This assertion is too general. It is true, that the greatest part of the catholics in the United Provinces are Jansenists, and that there is no legal toleration of the Jesuits in that republic. It is, nevertheless, a known fact, and a fact that cannot be indifferent to those who have the welfare and security of these provinces at heart, that the Jesuits are daily gaining ground among the Dutch papists. They have a flourishing chapel in the city of Utrecht, and have places of worship in several other cities, and in a great number of villages. It would be worthy of the wisdom of the rulers of the republic to put a stop to this growing evil, and not to suffer, in a protestant country, a religious order which has been suppressed in a popish one, and declared hostile to the state *.

* This note is left for the purpose of shewing the state of affairs, at the time when Dr. Maclaine inserted it; but its purport is superseded by the effects of the French revolution. EDIT.

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The debates occasioned by Quesnel's New Testament.

X. The cause of the Jansenists acquired a peculiar degree of credit and reputation, both in this and the preceding century, by a French translation of the New Testament, made by the learned and pious Pasquier Quesnel, a priest of the Oratory, and accompanied with practical annotations, adapted to excite lively impressions of religion in the minds of men. The quintessence of Jansenism was blended, in an elegant and artful manner, with these annotations, and was thus presented to the reader under the most pleasing aspect. The Jesuits were alarmed at the success of Quesnel's book, and particularly at the change it had wrought in many, in favor of the doctrines of Jansenius; and, to remove out of the way an instrument which proved so advantageous to their adversaries, they engaged that weak prince Louis XIV. to solicit the condemnation of this production at the court of Rome. Clement XI. granted the request of the French monarch, because he considered it as the request of the Jesuits; and, in 1713, issued the famous bull Unigenitus, in which Quesnel's New Testament was condemned, and a hundred and one propositions contained in it were pronounced heretical[g]. This bull, which is also known by the

☞ [g] To shew what a political weathercock the *infallibility* of the holy father was upon this occasion, it may not be improper to introduce an anecdote which is related by Voltaire in his Siecle de Louis XIV. vol. ii. The credit of the narrator, indeed, weighs lightly in the balance of historical fame; but the anecdote is well attested, and is as follows: "The abbé Renaudot, a "learned Frenchman, happening to be at Rome in the first year "of the pontificate of Clement XI., went one day to see the pope, "who was fond of men of letters, and was himself a learned "man, and found his holiness reading Father Quesnel's book. "On seeing Renaudot enter the apartment, the pope said, in a "kind of rapture, 'Here is a most excellent book: we have "'no-body at Rome that is capable of writing in this manner;—"'I wish I could engage the author to reside here!'" And yet this same book was condemned afterwards by this same pope.

name of *The Constitution*, gave a favorable turn to the affairs of the Jesuits; but it was highly detrimental to the interests of the Romish church, as many of the wiser members of that communion candidly acknowlege; for it not only confirmed the Protestants in their separation, by convincing them that the church of Rome was resolved to adhere obstinately to its ancient superstitions and corruptions, but also offended many of the catholics who had no particular attachment to the doctrines of Jansenius, and were only bent on the pursuit of truth and the advancement of piety. It must also be observed, that the controversy relating to Jansenism was much heated and augmented, instead of being mitigated or suspended, by this despotic and ill-judged edict. CENT. XVIII.

Commotions in France occasioned by the bull *Unigenitus*.

XI. The dissensions and tumults excited in France by this edict were violent in the highest degree. A considerable number of bishops, and a large body composed of persons eminently distinguished by their piety and erudition, both among the clergy and laity, appealed from the bull to a general council. It was more particularly opposed by the cardinal Louis Antoine de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, who, equally unmoved by the authority of the pontiff, and by the resentment and indignation of Louis XIV., made a noble stand against the despotic proceedings of the court of Rome. These defenders of the ancient doctrine and liberties of the Gallican church were persecuted by the popes, the French monarch, and the Jesuits, from whom they received a series of injuries and affronts. Even their total ruin was aimed at by these unrelenting adversaries; but this inhuman purpose could not be entirely effected. Some of the Jansenists, however, were obliged to fly for refuge to their brethren in Holland; others were forced, by the terrors of penal laws, and by various acts of tyranny and violence, to receive the papal edict; while a considerable number, deprived of their places, and ruined in their fortunes, looked for subsistence and tranquillity at a greater distance from their

CENT. XVIII. native country. The issue of this famous contest was favorable to the bull, which was at length rendered valid by the authority of the parliament, and was registered among the laws of the state. This contributed, in some measure, to restore the public tranquillity; but it was far from diminishing the number of those who complained of the despotism of the pontiff; and the kingdom of France is still full of appellants [h], who reject the authority of the bull, and only wait for an opportunity of reviving a controversy which is rather suspended than terminated, and of re-kindling a flame that is covered without being extinguished.

The circumstances that contributed to support the cause of Jansenism in France.

XII. Amidst the calamities in which the Jansenists have been involved, they have only two methods left of maintaining their cause against their powerful adversaries; and these are their *writings* and their *miracles*. The former alone have proved truly useful to them; the latter gave them only a transitory reputation, which, being ill founded, contributed in the issue to sink their credit. The writings in which they have attacked both the pope and the Jesuits are innumerable; and many of them are composed with such eloquence, spirit, and solidity, that they have produced a remarkable effect. The Jansenists, however, looking upon all human means as insufficient to support their cause, turned their views toward supernatural succours, and endeavoured to make it appear, that their cause was the peculiar object of the divine protection and approbation. For this purpose they persuaded the multitude, that God had endowed the bones and ashes of certain persons, who had distinguished themselves by their zeal in the cause of Jansenius, and had, at the point of death, appealed a second time from the pope to a general council, with the power of healing the most inveterate diseases. The person whose remains

[h] This was the denomination assumed by those who appealed from the bull and the court of Rome to a general council.

were principally honored with this efficacy, was the abbé Paris, a man of a respectable family, whose natural character was dark and melancholy; whose superstition was excessive beyond all credibility; and who, by an austere abstinence from bodily nourishment, and the exercise of other inhuman branches of penitential discipline, was the voluntary cause of his own death[i]. To the miracles which were said to be wrought at the tomb of this fanatic, the Jansenists added a great variety of visions and revelations, to which they audaciously attributed a divine origin; for several members of the community, and more especially those who resided at Paris, pretended to be filled with the Holy Ghost; and, in consequence of this prerogative, delivered instructions, predictions, and exhortations, which, though frequently extravagant, and almost always insipid, yet moved the passions, and attracted the admiration, of the ignorant multitude. The prudence, however, of the court of France, put a stop to these fanatical tumults and false miracles; and, in the situation in which things are at present, the Jansenists have nothing left but their genius and their pens to maintain their cause[k].

XIII. We can say very little of the Greek and Eastern churches. The profound ignorance in

The state of the Eastern church.

[i] The imposture, that reigned in these pretended miracles, has been detected and exposed by various authors, but by none with more acuteness, perspicuity, and penetration, than by the ingenious Dr. Douglas, in his excellent treatise on miracles, entitled the Criterion, published in 1754.

☞ [k] Things are greatly changed since the learned author wrote this paragraph. The storm of just resentment that has arisen against the Jesuits, and has been attended with the extinction of their order in Portugal, France, and in all the Spanish dominions, has disarmed the most formidable adversaries of Jansenism, and must consequently be considered as an event highly favorable to the Jansenists *.

* In consequence of the French revolution, more important changes have taken place since the translator wrote the last note. EDIT.

CENT. XVIII. which they live, and the despotic yoke under which they groan, prevent their forming any plans to extend their limits, or making any attempts to change their state. The Russians, who, in the reign of Peter the Great, assumed a less savage and barbarous aspect than they had before that memorable period, have in this century given some grounds to hope that they may one day be reckoned among the civilised nations. There are, nevertheless, immense multitudes of that rugged people, who are still attached to the brutish superstition and discipline of their ancestors; and there are many in whom the barbarous spirit of persecution still so far prevails, that, were it in their power, they would cut off the Protestants, and all other sects that differ from them, by fire and sword. This appears evident from a variety of circumstances, and more especially from the book which Stephen Javorski has composed against heretics of all denominations.

The Greek Christians are said to be treated at present by their haughty masters with more clemency and indulgence than in former times. The Nestorians and Monophysites in Asia and Africa persevere in their refusal to enter into the communion of the Romish church, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties and alluring offers that have been made from time to time by the pope's legates, to conquer their inflexible constancy.—The pontiffs have frequently attempted to renew, by another sacred expedition, their former connexions with Abyssinia; but they have not yet been able to find out a method of escaping the vigilance of that court, which still persists in its abhorrence of popery. Nor is it at all probable that the ambassy, which is now preparing at Rome for the Abyssinian emperor, will be attended with success[1]. The Monophysites propagate their doctrine in Asia with zeal and assiduity, and, not long ago, gained over to their

[1] See the *Continuation*.

communion a part of the Nestorians who inhabit the coasts of India. CENT. XVIII.

XIV. The Lutheran church, which dates its foundation from the year 1517, and the confession of Augsburg from 1530, celebrated in peace and prosperity the secular return of those memorable periods in the years 1717 and 1730. It received, some years ago, a considerable accession to the number of its members by the emigration of those protestants, who abandoned the territory of Saltzburg, and the town of Berchtolsgaden, in order to breathe a free air, and to enjoy unmolested the exercise of their religion. One body of these emigrants settled in Prussia, another in Holland; and many of them transplanted themselves and their families to America, and other distant regions. This circumstance contributed greatly to propagate the doctrine, and extend the reputation of the Lutheran church, which thus formed several congregations of no small note in Asia and America. The state of Lutheranism at home has not been so prosperous, since we learn both from public transactions, and also from the complaints of its professors and patrons, that, in several parts of Germany, this church has been injuriously oppressed, and unjustly deprived of some of its privileges and advantages, by the votaries of Rome. The external state of the Lutheran church.

XV. It has been scarcely possible to introduce any change into the doctrine and discipline of that church, because the ancient confessions and rules that were drawn up to point out the tenets that were to be believed, and the rites and ceremonies that were to be performed, still remain in their full authority, and are considered as the sacred guardians of the Lutheran faith and worship. The method, however, of illustrating, enforcing, and defending the doctrines of Christianity, has undergone several changes. About the commencement of this century, an artless simplicity was generally observed by the Lutheran ministers, and all philosophical terms and Its internal state.

CENT. XVIII. abstract reasonings were relinquished, as more adapted to obscure than to illustrate the truths of the Gospel. But, in process of time, a very different way of thinking began to take place; and several learned men entertained a notion that the doctrines of Christianity could not maintain their ground, if they were not supported by the aids of philosophy, and exhibited and proved in geometrical order.

The adepts in jurisprudence, who undertook, in the last century, the revision and correction of the ecclesiastical code that is in force among the Lutherans, carried on their undertaking with great assiduity and spirit; and our church-government would at this day bear another aspect, if the ruling powers had judged it expedient to listen to their counsels and representations. We see, indeed, evident proofs that the directions of these great men, relating to the external form of ecclesiastical government, discipline, and worship, are highly respected; and that their ideas, even of doctrine, have been more or less adopted by many. Hence it is not surprising, that warm disputes have arisen between them and the rulers of the church concerning several points. The Lutheran doctors are apprehensive that, if the sentiments of some of these reformers should take place, religion would become entirely subservient to the purposes of civil policy, and be converted into a mere state-machine; and this apprehension is not peculiar to the clergy, but is also entertained by some persons of piety and candor, even among the civilians.

Intestine enemies.

XVI. The liberty of thinking, speaking, and writing, concerning religious matters, which began to prevail in the last century, was, in this, confirmed and augmented; and it extended so far as to encourage both infidels and fanatics to pour forth among the multitude, without restraint, all the crudities of their enthusiasm and extravagance. Accordingly we have seen, and still see, numbers of fanatics and

innovators start up, and, under the influence of enthusiasm or of a disordered brain, divulge their crude fancies and dreams among the people, by which they either delude many from the communion of the established church, or at least occasion contests and divisions of the most disagreeable kind. We mentioned formerly several of these disturbers of the tranquillity of the church, to whom we may now add the notorious names of Tennhart, Gichtel, Uberfeld, Rosenbach, Bredel, Seiz, Roemeling, and many others, who either imagined that they were divinely inspired, or, from a persuasion of their superior capacity and knowlege, set up for reformers of the doctrine and discipline of the church. Many writers drew their pens against this presumptuous and fanatical tribe, though the greatest part of those who composed it were really below the notice of men of character, and were rather worthy of contempt than of opposition. And, indeed, it was not so much the force of reason and argument, as the experience of their ill success, that convinced these fanatics of their folly, and induced them to desist from their chimerical projects. Their attempts could not stand the trial of time and common sense; and therefore, after having made a transitory noise, they fell into oblivion. Such is the common and deserved fate of almost all the fanatic ringleaders of the deluded populace; they suddenly start up, and make a figure for a while; but, in general, they ruin their own cause by their imprudence or obstinacy, by their austerity or perverseness, by their licentious conduct or their intestine divisions. CENT. XVIII.

XVII. Many place in this fanatical class the Brethren of Herrenhut, who were first formed into a religious community in the village so named, in Lusatia, by the famous count Zinzendorff, and afterwards grew so numerous that their emigrants were spread abroad in almost all the countries of Europe, formed settlements in the Indies, and even penetrated to the remotest parts of the globe. They Herrenhutters.

CENT. XVIII. call themselves the descendants of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who, in the fifteenth century, threw off the despotic yoke of Rome, animated by the zealous exhortations and heroic example of John Huss. They may, however, be said, with more propriety, to imitate the example of that famous community, than to descend from those who composed it; for it is well known, that there are very few Bohemians and Moravians in the fraternity of the Herrenhutters; and it is extremely doubtful, whether even this small number are to be considered as the posterity of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, that distinguished themselves so early by their zeal for the Reformation.

If we are to give credit to the declarations of the Herrenhutters, they agree with the Lutherans in their doctrine and opinions, and only differ from them in their ecclesiastical discipline, and in those religious institutions and rules of life which form the resemblance between the Bohemian Brethren and the disciples of Zinzendorff. There are, indeed, many who doubt much of the truth of this declaration, and suspect that the society now under consideration, and more especially their rulers and ringleaders, speak the language of Lutheranism when they are among the Lutherans, in order to obtain their favor and indulgence; and those who have examined this matter with the greatest attention, represent this fraternity as composed of persons of different religions, as well as of various ranks and orders. Be that as it may, it is at least very difficult to guess the reason that induces them to live in such an entire state of separation from the Lutheran communion, and to be so ambitiously zealous in augmenting their sect, if there be no other difference between them and the Lutherans than that of discipline and of ceremony; for the true and genuine followers of Jesus Christ are little concerned about the outward forms of ecclesiastical government and discipline, knowing that real reli-

gion consists in faith and charity, and not in external rites and institutions [m]. CENT. XVIII.

☞ [m] It is somewhat surprising to hear Dr. Mosheim speak in such vague and general terms of this sect, without taking the least notice of their pernicious doctrines and their flagitious practices, that not only disfigure the sacred truths of the Gospel, but also sap all the foundations of morality. To be persuaded of this, the reader, beside the accounts which Rimius has given of this enormous sect, will do well to consult a curious Preface, prefixed to the French translation of a Pastoral Letter against Fanaticism, addressed by Mr. Stinstra, an Anabaptist minister in Friseland, to his congregation, and published at Leyden in 1752. It may not be amiss to add here a passage relating to this odious community, from the bishop of Glocester's treatise, entitled, the Doctrine of Grace. The words of that great and eminent prelate are as follow: "As purity "respects practice, the Moravians give us little trouble. If "we may credit the yet unconfuted relations, both in print and "in MS., composed by their own members, the participants in "their most sacred mysterious rites, their practices in the con-"summation of marriage are so horribly, so unspeakably fla-"gitious, that this people seem to have no more pretence to "be put into the number of Christian sects, than the Turlu-"pins of the thirteenth century, a vagabond crew of miscreants, "who rambled over Italy, France, and Germany, calling "themselves the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who, "in speculation, professed that species of atheism called Pan-"theism, and, in practice, pretended to be exempted from all "the obligations of morality and religion." See The Doctrine of Grace, vol. ii. As to the doctrines of this sect, they open a door to the most licentious effects of fanaticism. Such among many others are the following, drawn from the express declarations of count Zinzendorff, the head and founder of the community: that the law is not a rule of life to a believer;—that the moral law belongs only to the Jews;—that a converted person cannot sin against light. But of all the singularities for which this sect is famous, the notions they entertain of the organs of generation in both sexes are the most enormously wild and extravagant. I consider (says Zinzendorff, in one of his sermons) the parts for distinguishing both sexes in Christians, as the most honorable of the whole body, my Lord and God having partly inhabited them, and partly worn them himself.' This raving secretary looks upon the conjugal act as a piece of scenery, in which the male represents Christ the husband of souls, and the female the church. 'The married brother (says 'he) knows matrimony, respects it, but does not think upon it 'of his own accord; and thus the precious member of the cove-'nant (i. e. the penis) is so much forgotten, becomes so useless, 'and consequently is reduced to such a natural numbness, by

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The state of philosophy among the Lutherans.

XVIII. It was the opinion of many, that the succours of philosophy were absolutely necessary to stem the torrent of superstition, and stop its growing progress, and that these alone were adapted to accomplish this desirable purpose. Hence the study of philosophy, which, toward the conclusion of the last century, seemed to decline, was now revived, established upon a more rational footing, and pursued with uncommon assiduity and ardor. The branch of philosophy which is commonly known under the denomination of *Metaphysics*, was generally preferred, as it leads to the first principles of things; and the improvements made in this important science were very considerable. These improvements were chiefly produced by the genius and penetration of Leibnitz, who threw a new light upon metaphysics, and gave this interesting branch of philosophy a more regular form. This science received a still greater degree of perfection from the philosophical labors of the acute and indefatigable Wolff, who reduced it into a scientific order, and gave to its decisions the strength and evidence of a geometrical demonstration. Under this new and respectable form it captivated the attention and esteem of the greatest part of the German philosophers, and of those in general who pursue truth through the paths of strict evidence; and it was applied with great ardor and zeal to illustrate and confirm the great truths both of natural and revealed religion. This application of the First Philosophy gave much uneasiness to some pious men, who were extremely solicitous to preserve, pure and unmixed, the doctrines of Christianity; and it was

'not being used, that afterwards, when he is to marry, and use it, 'the Saviour must restore him from this deadness of body. And 'when an Esther by grace, and sister according to her make, gets 'sight of this member, her senses are shut up, and she piously per- 'ceives, that God the Son was a boy. *Ye holy matrons, who as 'wives are about your Vice-Christs, honor that precious sign with 'the utmost veneration.*' We beg the chaste reader's pardon for presenting him with this odious specimen of the horrors of the Moravian theology.

accordingly opposed by them with great eagerness and obstinacy. Thus the ancient contest between philosophy and theology, faith and reason, was unhappily revived, and has been carried on with much animosity for several years past. For many are of opinion, that this metaphysical philosophy inspires youthful minds with notions that are far from being favorable either to the doctrines or to the positive institutions of religion; that, seconded by the warmth of fancy, at that age of levity and presumption, it engenders an arrogant contempt of Divine Revelation, and an excessive attachment to human reason, as the only infallible guide of man; and that, instead of throwing new light on the science of theology, and giving it an additional air of dignity, it has contributed, on the contrary, to cover it with obscurity, and to sink it into oblivion and contempt. CENT. XVIII.

The Wertheim translation of the Bible.

XIX. In order to justify this heavy charge against the metaphysical philosophy, they appeal to the writings of Laurent Schmidt, whom they commonly call the Wertheim interpreter, from the place of his residence. This man, who was by no means destitute of abilities, and had acquired a profound knowlege of the philosophy now under consideration, undertook, some years ago, a new German translation of the Holy Scriptures, to which he prefixed a new system of theology, drawn up in a geometrical order, that was to serve him as a guide in the exposition of the sacred oracles. This undertaking proved highly detrimental to its author, as it drew upon him from many quarters severe marks of opposition and resentment; for he had scarcely published the Five Books of Moses, as a specimen of his method and abilities, when he was not only attacked by several writers, but also brought before the supreme tribunal of the empire, and there accused as an enemy of the Christian religion, and a caviler at divine truth. This severe charge was founded upon this circumstance only, that he had boldly departed from the common explication of certain passages in the books of Moses,

CENT. XVIII. which are generally supposed to prefigure the Messiah [m]. On this account he was sent to prison, and his errors were looked upon as capitally criminal; but he escaped the vigilance of his keepers, and saved himself by flight.

The controversies called Pietistical, and other religious contests, divide the Lutheran church.

XX. The bare indication of the controversies that have divided the Lutheran church since the commencement of this century would make up a long list. The religious contests that were set on foot by the Pietists were carried on in some places with animosity, in others with moderation, according to the characters of the champions, and the temper and spirit of the people. These contests, however, have gradually subsided, and seem at present to be all reduced to the following question, whether a wicked man be capable of acquiring a true and certain knowlege of divine things, or be susceptible of any degree or species of divine illumination. The controversy that has been excited by this question is considered by many as a mere dispute about words; its decision, at least, is rather a matter of curiosity than importance. Many other points, that had been more or less debated in the last century, occasioned keen contests in this, such as the eternity of hell torments; the reign of Christ upon earth during a thousand years; and the final restoration of all intelligent beings to order, perfection, and happiness. The mild and indulgent sentiments of John Fabricius, professor of divinity at Helmstadt, concerning the importance of the controversy between the Lutherans and Catholics, excited also a warm debate; for this doctor and his disciples went so far as to maintain, that the difference, between those churches, was of so

☞ [m] Dr. Mosheim gives here but one half of the accusation brought against Schmidt, in 1737, when he was charged with attempting to prove, that there was not the smallest trace or vestige of the doctrine of the Trinity, nor any prediction pointing out the Messiah, to be found in the Five Books of Moses. It was by the authority of an edict addressed by Charles VI. to the princes of the empire, that Schmidt was imprisoned.

little consequence, that a Lutheran might safely embrace popery. The warm controversies that have been carried on between certain divines, and some eminent civilians, concerning the rites and obligations of wedlock, the lawful grounds of divorce, and the nature and guilt of concubinage, are sufficiently known. Other disputes of inferior moment, which have been of a sudden growth, and of a short duration, we shall pass over in silence, as the knowlege of them is not necessary to our forming an accurate idea of the internal state of the Lutheran church.

The state of the reformed church.

XXI. The reformed church still carries the same external aspect under which it has been already described [n]; for, though there be every where extant certain books, creeds, and confessions, by which the wisdom and vigilance of ancient times thought proper to perpetuate the truths of religion, and to preserve them from the contagion of heresy, yet, in most places, no person is obliged to adhere strictly to the doctrines they contain; and those who profess the main and fundamental truths of the Christian religion, and take care to avoid too *great an intimacy* [o] with the tenets of Socinianism and popery, are deemed worthy members of the reformed church [p].

☞ [n] This description the reader will find above, at the beginning of the preceding century.

☞ [o] *Nimiam consuetudinem.* The expression is remarkable and malignant; it would make the ignorant and unwary apt to believe, that the reformed church allows its members certain approaches toward popery and Socinianism, provided they do not carry these approaches too far, even to an intimate union with them. This representation of the reformed church is too glaringly false to proceed from ignorance; and Dr. Mosheim's extensive knowlege places him beyond the suspicion of an involuntary mistake in this matter. It is true, this reflexion bears hard upon his candor; and we are extremely sorry that we cannot, in this place, do justice to the knowlege of that great man, without arraigning his equity.

☞ [p] Nothing can be more unfair, or at least more inaccurate, than this representation of things. It proceeds from a supposition that is quite chimerical, even that the reformed churches in England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, &c. form one general body, and, beside their respective and particular

CENT. XVIII. Hence, in our times, this great and extensive community comprehends, in its bosom, Arminians, Calvinists, Supralapsarians, Sublapsarians, and Universalists, who live together in charity and friendship [q], and unite their efforts in healing the breach, and diminishing the weight and importance of those controversies that separate them from each other [r]. This moderation is,

systems of government and discipline, have some general laws of religious toleration, in consequence of which they admit a variety of sects into their communion. But this general hierarchy does not exist. The friends of the Reformation, whom the multiplied horrors and absurdities of popery obliged to abandon the communion of Rome, were formed, in process of time, into distinct ecclesiastical bodies, or national churches, every one of which has its peculiar form of government and discipline. The toleration that is enjoyed by the various sects and denominations of Christians, arises in part from the clemency of the ruling powers, and from the charity and forbearance which individuals think themselves bound to exercise one toward another. See the following note.

☞ [q] If the different denominations of Christians here mentioned live together in the mutual exercise of charity and benevolence, notwithstanding the diversity of their theological opinions, this circumstance, which Dr. Mosheim seems to mention as a reproach, is, on the contrary, a proof, that the true and genuine spirit of the Gospel (which is a spirit of forbearance, meekness, and charity,) prevails among the members of the reformed churches. But it must be carefully observed, that this charity, though it discovers the amiable *bond of peace*, does not, by any means, imply uniformity of sentiment or indifference about truth, or lead us to suppose that the reformed churches have relaxed or departed from their system of doctrine. Indeed, as there is no general reformed church, so there is no general reformed Creed or Confession of Faith. The church of England has its peculiar system of doctrine and government, which remains still unchanged, and in full force; and to which an assent is demanded from all its members, and in a more especial, solemn, and express manner from those who are its ministers. Such is the case with the national reformed churches in the United Provinces. The dissenters in these countries, who are tolerated by the state, have also their respective bonds of ecclesiastical union; and such of them, particularly in England and Ireland, as differ from the establishment only in their form of government and worship, and not in matters of doctrine, are treated with indulgence by the moderate members of the national church, who look upon them as their brethren.

☞ [r] In the 4to edition of this work, I mistook, in a moment of inadvertency, the construction of this sentence in the original

indeed, severely censured by many of the reformed divines in Switzerland, Germany, and more especially in Holland, who lament, in the most sorrowful strains, the decline of the ancient purity and strictness that characterised the doctrine and discipline of the church, and sometimes attack, with the strongest marks of indignation and resentment, these modern contemners of primitive orthodoxy. But, as the moderate party have an evident superiority in point of number, power, and influence, these attacks of their adversaries are, in general, treated with the utmost indifference. CENT. XVIII.

Latin, and rendered the passage as if Dr. Mosheim had represented the reformed churches as diminishing the weight and importance of those controversies that 'separate them from the 'church of Rome;' whereas he represents them (and, indeed, what he says is rather an encomium than a reproach) as diminishing the weight of those controversies which 'separate them 'from each other.' One of the circumstances that made me fall more easily into this mistake, was my having read, the moment before I committed it, Dr. Mosheim's insinuation with respect to the spirit of the church of England in the very next page, where he says, very inconsiderately, that we may judge of that spirit by the conduct of Dr. Wake, who formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each community should retain the greatest part of its peculiar doctrines. This is supposing, though upon the foundation of a mistaken fact, that the church of England, at least, is making evident approaches to the church of Rome.—When I had made the mistake, which turned really an encomium into an accusation, I thought it incumbent on me to defend the reformed church against the charge of an approximation to popery. For this purpose, I observed (in note [z] of the 4to edition), "that the reformed churches were never at such a "distance from the spirit and doctrine of the church of Rome "as they are at this day; and that the improvements in science, "that characterise the last and the present age, seem to render "a relapse into Romish superstition morally impossible in those "who have been once delivered from its baneful influence." The ingenious author of the Confessional did not find this reasoning conclusive; but the objections he has started against it, do not appear to me insurmountable. I have, therefore, thrown upon paper some farther thoughts upon the present state of the reformed religion, and the influence of improvements in philosophy upon its advancement; and these thoughts the reader will find in the third part of the Appendix.

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Projects of re-union between the Reformed and the Lutherans.

XXII. Whoever considers all these things with due attention, will be obliged to acknowlege that neither the Lutherans nor Arminians have, at this day, any farther subject of controversy or debate with the reformed church, considered in a general point of view, but only with individual members of this great community[s]; for the church, considered in its collective and general character, allows now to all its members the full liberty of entertaining the

☞ [s] Even if we grant this to be true with respect to the Arminians, it cannot be affirmed, with equal truth, in regard to the Lutherans, whose doctrine concerning the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist, and the communication of the properties of his divine to his human nature, is rejected by all the reformed churches, without exception. But it is not universally true, even with respect to the Arminians; for, though the latter are particularly favored by the church of England; though Arminianism may be said to have become predominant among the members of that church, or at least to have lent its influence in mitigating some of its articles in the private sentiments of those who subscribe them; yet the thirty-nine Articles of the same church still maintain their authority; and, when we judge of the doctrine and discipline of any church, it is more natural to form this judgement from its established creeds and confessions of faith, than from the sentiments and principles of particular persons; so that, with respect to the church of England, the direct contrary of what Dr. Mosheim asserts is strictly true; for it is rather with that church, and its rule of faith, that the Lutherans are at variance, than with private persons, who, prompted by a spirit of Christian moderation, mitigate some of its doctrines, in order charitably to extend the limits of its communion. But, if we turn our view to the reformed churches in Holland, Germany, and a part of Switzerland, the mistake of our author will still appear more palpable; for some of these churches consider certain doctrines both of the Arminians and Lutherans, as a just cause of excluding them from their communion. The question here is not, whether this rigor is laudable; it is the matter of fact that we are examining at present. The church of England, indeed, if we consider its present temper and spirit, does not look upon any of the errors of the Lutherans as *fundamental*, and is therefore ready to receive them into its communion; and the same thing may, perhaps, be affirmed of several of the reformed churches upon the continent. But this is very far from being a proof, that the 'Lutherans have at this day (as Dr. Mosheim 'asserts) no farther subject of controversy or debate with these 'churches;' it only proves, that these churches nourish a spirit of toleration and charity worthy of imitation.

sentiments which they think most reasonable, in relation to those points of doctrine that formerly excluded the Lutherans and Arminians from its communion, and looks upon the essence of Christianity and its fundamental truths as in no wise affected by these points, however variously they may be explained by the contending parties. But this moderation, instead of facilitating the execution of the plans that have been proposed by some for the re-union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, contributes rather to prevent this re-union, or at least to render it much more difficult; for those among the Lutherans who are zealous for the maintenance of the truth, complain, that the reformed church has rendered too wide the way of salvation, and opened the arms of fraternal love and communion, not only to us (Lutherans), but also to Christians of all sects and denominations. Accordingly, we find, that when, about twenty years ago, several eminent doctors of our communion, with the learned and celebrated Matthew Pfaff at their head, employed their good offices with zeal and sincerity in order to our union with the reformed church, this pacific project was so warmly opposed by the majority of the Lutherans, that it was soon rendered abortive [t].

XXIII. The church of England, which is now the chief branch of the great community denominated the Reformed Church, continues in the same state,

The present state of the Church of England.

☞ [t] The project of the very pious and learned Dr. Pfaff for uniting the Lutheran and Reformed churches, and the reasons on which he justified this project, are worthy of the truly Christian spirit, and do honor to the accurate and sound judgement of that most eminent and excellent divine *; and it is somewhat surprising, considering the proofs of moderation and judgement that Dr. Mosheim has given in other parts of this valuable history, that he neither mentions the project of Dr. Pfaff with applause, nor the stiffness of the Lutherans on this occasion with any mark of disapprobation.

☞ * See this learned author's Collectio Scriptorum Irenicorum ad Unionem inter Protestantes facientium, published at Hall in 1723.

CENT. XVIII. and is governed by the same principles, that it assumed at the Revolution. The established form of church-government is episcopacy, which is embraced by the sovereign, the nobility, and the greatest part of the people. The Presbyterians, and the numerous sects that are comprehended under the general title of Non-conformists, enjoy the sweets of religious liberty, under the influence of a legal toleration. Those, indeed, who are best acquainted with the present state of the English nation, confidently affirm that the dissenting interest is declining, and that the cause of non-conformity owes this gradual decay, in a great measure, to the lenity and moderation that are practised by the rulers of the established church. The members of this church may be divided into two classes, according to their different ideas of the origin, extent, and dignity of episcopal jurisdiction. Some look upon the government of bishops as founded on the authority of a divine institution, and are immoderately zealous in extending the power and prerogatives of the church; others, of a more mild and sedate spirit, while they consider that form of government as far superior to every other system of ecclesiastical polity, and warmly recommend all the precautions that are necessary to its preservation and the independence of the clergy, yet do not carry this attachment to such an excessive degree, as to refuse the name of a *church* to every religious community that is not governed by a bishop, or to defend, with intemperate zeal, the prerogatives and pretensions of the episcopal order [u].—These two classes are some-

☞ [u] The learned and pious archbishop Wake, in a letter to Father Courayer, dated from Croydon-House, July 9, 1724, expresses himself thus: "I bless God that I was born and have "been bred in an episcopal church, which, I am convinced, has "been the government established in the Christian church from "the very time of the apostles. But I should be unwilling to "affirm, that, where the ministry is not episcopal, there is no "church, nor any true administration of the sacraments; and "very many there are among us who are zealous for episcopacy, "yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God per-"formed by any other ministry."

times involved in warm debates, and oppose each other with no small degree of animosity, of which this century has exhibited the following remarkable example. Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, bishop of Winchester, a prelate eminently distinguished by the accuracy of his judgement, and the purity of his flowing and manly eloquence, used his utmost endeavours, and not without success, to lower the authority of the church, or at least to reduce the power of its rulers within narrow bounds. On the other hand, the church and its rulers found several able defenders; and, among the rest, Dr. John Potter, archbishop of Canterbury, maintained the rights and pretensions of the clergy with great eloquence and erudition. As to the spirit of the established church of England, in relation to those who dissent from its rules of doctrine and government, we see it no where better than in the conduct of Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, who formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each community should retain the greatest part of its peculiar doctrines [w]. CENT. XVIII.

☞ [w] Archbishop Wake certainly corresponded with some learned and moderate Frenchmen on this subject, particularly with M. Du-Pin, the ecclesiastical historian: and no doubt the archbishop, when he assisted Courayer in his Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations, by furnishing him with unanswerable proofs drawn from the registers at Lambeth-Palace, had it in his view to remove certain groundless prejudices, which, while they subsisted among catholics, could not but defeat all projects of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches. The interests of the protestant religion could not be in safer hands than those of archbishop Wake. He who had so ably and so successfully defended protestantism, as a controversial writer, could not surely form any project of peace and union with a Roman catholic church, the terms of which would have reflected on his character as a negociator. ☞ This note has been misunderstood and censured by the acute author of the Confessional. This censure gave occasion to the fourth Appendix, which the reader will find in this volume, and in which the matter contained in this note is fully illustrated, and the conduct of archbishop Wake set in its true light.

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Various sects in England.

XXIV. The unbounded liberty which every individual in England enjoys of publishing, without restraint, his religious opinions, and of worshiping God in the manner which he deems the most conformable to reason and Scripture, naturally produces a variety of sects, and gives rise to an uninterrupted succession of controversies about theological matters. It is scarcely possible for any historian who has not resided for some time in England, and examined with attention, upon the spot, the laws, the privileges, the factions, and opinions of that free and happy people, to give a just and accurate account of these religious sects and controversies. Even the names of the greatest part of these sects have not yet reached us; and many of those which have come to our knowlege, we know but imperfectly. We are greatly in the dark with respect to the grounds and principles of these controversies, because we are destitute of the sources from which proper information might be drawn. At present the ministerial labors of George Whitefield, who has formed a community, which he proposes to render superior in sanctity and perfection to all other Christian churches, make a considerable noise in England, and are not altogether destitute of success. If there is any consistency in this man's theological system, and if we are not to look upon him as a mere enthusiast, led by the blind impulse of an irregular fancy, his doctrine seems to amount to these two propositions: "That true religion consists "alone in holy affections, or in a certain inward "*feeling*, which it is impossible to explain; and that "Christians ought not to seek truth by the dictates "of reason, or by the aids of learning, but by laying "their minds open to the direction and influence of "divine illumination."

Whitefield.

The state of the Dutch church.

XXV. The Dutch church is still divided by the controversies that arose from the philosophy of Des-Cartes and the theology of Cocceius; but these controversies are carried on with less bitterness and animosity at present than in former times. It is

even to be hoped that these contests will soon be totally extinguished, since it is well known, that the Newtonian philosophy has expelled Cartesianism from almost all the seminaries of learning in the United Provinces. We have already mentioned the debates that were occasioned by the opinions of Roell. In 1703, Frederic Van Leenhof was suspected of a propensity toward the system of Spinosa, and drew upon himself a multitude of adversaries, by a remarkable book, entitled Heaven upon Earth, in which he maintained literally, that it was the duty of Christians to rejoice always, and to suffer no feelings of affliction and sorrow to interrupt their gaiety. The same accusations were brought against an illiterate man, named William Deurhoff, who, in some treatises composed in the Dutch language, represented the Divine Nature under the idea of a certain force, or energy, that is diffused throughout the whole universe, and acts in every part of the great fabric. The more recent controversies that have made a noise in Holland, were those that sprang from the opinions of James Saurin and Paul Maty, on two very different subjects. The former, who was minister to the French at the Hague, and acquired a shining reputation by his genius and eloquence, fell into an error, which, if it may be called such, was at least an error of a very pardonable kind; for, if we except some inaccurate and incautious expressions, his only deviation from the received opinions consisted in his maintaining, that it was sometimes lawful to swerve from truth, and to deceive men by our speech, in order to the attainment of some great and important good[x]. This sentiment did not please, as the most considerable part of the reformed churches adopt the doctrine of Augustin, "That a lie or a violation of the truth can never

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☞ [x] See Saurin's Discours Historiques, Theologiques, Critiques, et Moraux, sur les Evenements les plus memorables du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament, tom. i. of the folio edition.

CENT. XVIII. "be allowable in itself, or advantageous in the issue." The conduct of Maty was much more worthy of condemnation; for, in order to explain the mystery of the Trinity, he invented the following unsatisfactory hypothesis: "That the Son and the Holy Ghost "were two finite Beings, who had been created by "God, and at a certain time were united to the "divine nature [y]."

The disputes in Switzerland concerning the Formula Consensus, or Form of Agreement.

XXVI. The particular confession of faith, that we have already had occasion to mention under the denomination of the Formulary of Agreement or Concord, has, since the commencement of this century, produced warm and vehement contests in Switzerland, and more especially in the canton of Bern. In 1718, the magistrates of Bern published an order, by which all professors, and particularly

[y] Dr. Mosheim, in another of his learned productions, has explained, in a more accurate and circumstantial manner, the hypothesis of Maty, which amounts to the following propositions: "That the Father is the pure Deity; and that the Son "and the Holy Ghost are two other persons, in each of whom "there are two natures; one divine, which is the same in all "the three persons, and with respect to which they are one "and the same God, having the same numerical divine "essence; and the other a finite and dependent nature, which "is united to the divine nature in the same manner in which the "orthodox say, that Jesus Christ is God and man." See Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes, (published at Altena in 1743,) vol. ii. p. 498, but principally the original work of Mr. Maty, which was published (at the Hague) in 1729, under the following title: Lettre d'un Theologien à un autre Theologien sur le Mystere de la Trinité.—The publication of this hypothesis was unnecessary, as it was destitute even of the merit of novelty, being very little more than a repetition of what Dr. Thomas Burnet, prebendary of Sarum, had said, about ten years before, upon this mysterious subject, which nothing but presumption can make any man attempt to render intelligible. See a treatise published without his name by Dr. Burnet, in 1720, with this title: The Scripture Trinity intelligibly explained; or, An Essay towards the Demonstration of a Trinity in Unity from Reason and Scripture, in a Chain of Consequences from certain Principles, &c. by a Divine of the Church of England. See also the same author's Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption of the World by Christ, intelligibly explained, &c.

those of the university and church of Lausanne, who were suspected of entertaining erroneous opinions, were obliged to declare their assent to this Formulary, and to adopt it as the rule of their faith. This injunction was so much the more grievous, as no demand of that kind had been made for some time before this period; and the custom of requiring subscription to this confession had been suspended in the case of several who were promoted in the university, or had entered into the church. Accordingly many pastors and candidates for holy orders refused the assent that was demanded by the magistrates, and some of them were punished for this refusal. Hence arose warm contests and heavy complaints, which engaged the king of Great Britain, and the states-general of the United Provinces, to offer their intercession, in order to terminate these unhappy divisions; and hence the Formulary lost much of its credit and authority. CENT. XVIII.

Nothing memorable happened during this period in the German churches. The Reformed church that was established in the Palatinate, and had formerly been in such a flourishing state, suffered greatly from the persecuting spirit and the malignant counsels of the votaries of Rome.

XXVII. The Socinians, dispersed through the different countries of Europe, have not hitherto been able to form a separate congregation, or to celebrate publicly divine worship, in a manner conformable to the institutions of their sect, although, in several places, they hold clandestine meetings of a religious kind. The person that made the principal figure among them in this century, was the learned Samuel Crellius, who died in an advanced age at Amsterdam: he indeed preferred the denomination of Artemonite to that of Socinian, and departed in many points from the received doctrines of that sect. Socinians.

The Arians found a learned and resolute patron in William Whiston, professor of mathematics in Arians.

CENT. XVIII. the university of Cambridge, who defended their doctrine in various productions, and chose rather to resign his chair, than to renounce his opinions. He was followed in these opinions, as is commonly supposed, by Dr. Samuel Clarke, a man of great abilities, judgement, and learning, who, in 1724, was accused of altering and modifying the ancient and orthodox doctrine of the Trinity[z]. But it must

☞ [z] It is too evident that few controversies have so little augmented the sum of knowlege, and so much hurt the spirit of charity, as the controversies that have been carried on in the Christian church in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. Mr. Whiston was one of the first divines who revived this controversy in the xviiith century. About the year 1706, he began to entertain some doubts about the proper eternity and omniscience of Christ. This led him to review the popular doctrine of the Trinity; and, in order to execute this review with a degree of diligence and circumspection suitable to its importance, he read the New Testament twice over, and also all the genuine monuments of the Christian religion prior to the conclusion of the second century. By this inquiry, he was led to think, that, at the incarnation of Christ, the *Logos*, or Eternal Wisdom, supplied the place of the *rational soul*, or πνευμα; that the eternity of the Son of God was not a real *distinct* existence, as of a son properly *co-eternal* with his father by a true eternal generation, but rather a metaphysical existence *in potentiâ*, or in some sublimer manner, in the Father, as his wisdom or word; that Christ's real *creation* or *generation* (for both these terms are used by the earliest writers) took place some time before the creation of the world; that the council of Nice itself established no other eternity of Christ; and, finally, that the Arian doctrine, in these points, was the original doctrine of Christ himself, of his holy apostles, and of the primitive Christians. Mr. Whiston was confirmed in these sentiments by reading Novatian's treatise concerning the Trinity, but more especially by the perusal of the Apostolical Constitutions, the antiquity and authenticity of which he endeavoured, with more zeal than precision and prudence, to prove, in the third part of his Primitive Christianity Revived.

This learned visionary, and upright man, was a considerable sufferer by his opinions. He was not only removed from his theological and pastoral functions, but also from his mathematical professorship, as if Arianism had extended its baneful influence even to the science of lines, angles, and surfaces. This measure was undoubtedly singular, and it appeared rigi and severe to all those, of both parties, who were dispassionat enough to see things in their true point of light; and, indeed

argue a great want of equity and candor, to rank this eminent man in the class of Arians, taking that

though we should grant that the good man's mathematics might, by erroneous conclusions, have corrupted his orthodoxy, it will still remain extremely difficult to comprehend, how his heterodoxy could hurt his mathematics. It was not therefore consistent, either with clemency or good sense, to turn Mr. Whiston out of his mathematical chair, because he did not believe the explication of the Trinity that is given in the Athanasian creed; and I mention this as an instance of the unfair proceedings of immoderate zeal, which often confounds the plainest distinctions, and deals its punishments without measure or proportion.

Dr. Clarke also stepped aside from the notions commonly received concerning the Trinity; but his modification of this doctrine was not so remote from the popular and orthodox hypothesis, as the sentiment of Whiston. His method of inquiring into that incomprehensible subject was modest, and, at least, promised fairly as a guide to truth. For he did not begin by abstract and metaphysical reasonings in his illustrations of this doctrine, but turned his first researches to the word and to the testimony, being persuaded that, as the doctrine of the Trinity was a matter of mere revelation, all human explications of it must be tried by the declarations of the New Testament, interpreted by the rules of grammar, and the principles of sound criticism. It was this persuasion that produced his famous book, entitled, The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, wherein every Text in the New Testament relating to that Doctrine is distinctly considered, and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained. The doctrine, which this learned divine drew from his researches, was comprehended in 55 propositions, which, with the proper illustrations, form the second part of the work. As the reader will find them in that work at full length, we shall only observe here, that Dr. Clarke, if he was careful in searching for the true meaning of those scriptural expressions that relate to the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, was equally circumspect in avoiding the accusation of heterodoxy, as appears by the series of propositions now referred to. There are three great rocks of heresy on which many bold adventurers on this Anti-Pacific ocean have been seen to split violently. These rocks are Tritheism, Sabellianism, and Arianism. Dr. Clarke got evidently clear of the first, by denying the self-existence of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and by maintaining their derivation from, and subordination to, the Father. He strenuously labored to avoid the second, by acknowleging the personality and distinct agency of the Son and the Holy Ghost; and he flattered himself with having escaped from the dangers of the third, by his asserting the eternity (for he believed the possibility of an eternal production which Whiston could not digest) of the two

CENT. XVIII. term in its proper and natural signification; for he only maintained what is commonly called the Ar-

divine subordinate persons. But, with all his circumspection, Dr. Clarke did not escape opposition and censure. He was answered and abused; and heresy was subdivided and modified, in order to give him an opprobrious appellation, even that of Semi-Arian. The convocation threatened; but the doctor calmed by his prudence the apprehensions and fears which his scripture-doctrine of the Trinity had excited in that learned and reverend assembly. An authentic account of the proceedings of the two houses of convocation upon this occasion, and of Dr. Clarke's conduct in consequence of the complaints that were made against his book, may be seen in a piece supposed to have been written by the Rev. Mr. John Laurence, and published at London, in 1714, under the following title: An Apology for Dr. Clarke, containing an account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his Writings concerning the Trinity. The true copies of all the original papers relating to this affair are published in this apology.

If Dr. Clarke was attacked by authority, he was also combated by argument. The learned Dr. Waterland was one of his principal adversaries, and stands at the head of a polemical body, composed of eminent divines, such as Gastrell, Wells, Nelson, Mayo, Knight, and others who appeared in this controversy. Against these, Dr. Clarke, unawed by their numbers, defended himself with great spirit and perseverance, in several letters and replies. This prolonged a controversy, which may often be suspended through the fatigue of the combatants, or the change of the mode in theological researches, but which will probably never be terminated; for nothing affords such an endless subject of debate as a doctrine above the reach of human understanding, and expressed in the ambiguous and improper terms of human language, such as persons, generations, substance, &c. which, in this controversy, either convey no ideas at all, or false ones. The inconveniences, accordingly, of departing from the divine simplicity of the scripture-language on this subject, and of converting a matter of mere revelation into an object of human reasoning, were palpable in the writings of both the contending parties. For, if Dr. Clarke was accused of verging toward Arianism, by maintaining the derived and caused existence of the Son and the Holy Ghost, it seemed no less evident that Dr. Waterland was verging toward Tritheism, by maintaining the self-existence and independence of these divine persons, and by asserting that the subordination of the Son to the Father is only a subordination of office and not of nature: so that, if the former divine was deservedly called a Semi-Arian, the latter might, with equal justice, be denominated a Semi-Tritheist. The difference between these learned men lay in this, that Dr.

minian Subordination, which has been, and is still, adopted by some of the greatest men in England, CENT. XVIII.

Clarke, after making a faithful collection of the texts in Scripture that relate to the Trinity, thought proper to interpret them by those maxims and rules of right reasoning, which are used on other subjects; whereas Dr. Waterland denied that this method of reasoning was to be admitted in illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity, which was far exalted above the sphere of human reason; and therefore he took the texts of Scripture in their direct, literal, and grammatical sense. Dr. Waterland, however, employed the words persons, subsistence, &c. as useful for fixing the notion of distinction; the words uncreated, eternal, and immutable, for ascertaining the divinity of each *person*; and the words interior generation and procession, to indicate their *union*. This was departing from his grammatical method, which ought to have led him to this plain conclusion, that the Son and the Holy Ghost, to whom divine attributes are ascribed in Scripture (and even the denomination of God to the former), possess these attributes in a manner which it is impossible for us to understand in this present state, and the understanding of which is consequently unessential to our salvation and happiness. The doctor, indeed, apologises in his *queries* (p. 321.) for the use of these metaphysical terms, by observing, that "they are not designed to enlarge our views, "or to add any thing to our stock of ideas, but to secure the "plain fundamental truth, that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, "are all strictly divine, and uncreated; and yet are not three "Gods, but one God." It is, however, difficult to comprehend how terms that neither enlarge our views, nor give us ideas, can secure any truth. It is difficult to conceive what our faith gains by being entertained with a certain number of sounds. If a Chinese should explain a term of his language which I did not understand, by another term, which he knew beforehand that I understood as little, his conduct would be justly considered as an insult against the rules of conversation and good breeding; and I think it is an equal violation of the equitable principles of candid controversy, to offer, as illustrations, propositions or terms that are as unintelligible and obscure as the thing to be illustrated. The words of the excellent and learned Stillingfleet (in the Preface to his Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity) administer a plain and a wise rule, which, if observed by divines, would greatly contribute to heal the wounds which both truth and charity have received in this controversy. "Since both sides yield (says he) that the "matter they dispute about is above their reach, the wisest "course they can take is, to assert and defend what is revealed, "and not to be peremptory and quarrelsome about that which "is acknowleged to be above our comprehension; I mean as

CENT. XVIII. and even by some of the most learned bishops in that country. This doctrine he illustrated with greater care and perspicuity than any before him had done, and taught that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are equal in nature, and different in rank, authority, and subordination.[a] A great number of English writers have endeavoured, in a variety of modes, to invalidate and undermine the doctrine of the holy Trinity; and it was this consideration that engaged a lady [b], eminently distinguished by her orthodoxy and opulence, to bequeath a valuable legacy as a foundation for a lecture, in which eight sermons are preached annually by a learned divine, who is nominated to that office by the trustees. This foundation has subsisted since the year 1720, and promises to posterity an ample collection of learned productions in defence of this branch of the Christian faith.

" to the *manner* how the *three persons* partake of the *divine* " *nature.*"

Those who are desirous of a more minute historical view of the manner in which the Trinitarian controversy has been carried on during the present century, may consult a pamphlet that was published in 1720, entitled, An Account of all the considerable Books and Pamphlets that have been written on either Side in the Controversy concerning the Trinity since the year 1712; in which is also contained an Account of the Pamphlets written this last year, on each side, by the Dissenters, to the end of the year 1719. The more recent treatises on the subject of the Trinity are sufficiently known.

☞ [a] It will appear to those who read the preceding note [z], that Dr. Mosheim has here mistaken the true hypothesis of Dr. Clarke, or, at least, expresses it imperfectly; for what he says here is rather applicable to the opinion of Dr. Waterland. Dr. Clarke maintained an equality of perfections in the three persons, but a subordination of nature in point of existence and derivation.

[b] Lady Moyer.

THE FIRST APPENDIX.

MOSHEIM's Ecclesiastical History can be justly appreciated only by considering it as a general epitome. As such, it is indeed excellent; the arrangement is luminous; the style, both of the author and of his translator, is in general perspicuous; and though topics of the greatest importance are, from the nature of the work, necessarily treated with a brevity which the reader may sometimes regret, the references at the bottoms of the pages inform him where he may, on every subject, find fuller information. It must, however, be confessed, that those references, being for the most part made to the works of German authors, are of less value to us than to those for whose use the history was originally composed; and, perhaps, it cannot be wholly denied, that the author, learned and pious as he undoubtedly was, either had not studied the works of the primitive fathers of the Christian church with sufficient care, or labored under some prejudices, from which the most powerful minds are not wholly exempt, that made him refer to learned moderns for the decision of questions, which the ancients alone can decide. This, we think, appears most remarkably in the view which he exhibits of the constitution, government, and discipline, of the primitive church, of which it is obvious that we can know nothing but from the testimony of the primitive writers.

The Fathers, as they are called, may have been bad critics, as we think they generally were; they may have been extremely credulous, and ready to attribute, to the miraculous interposition of God, natural events, for which their philosophy did not enable them to account; and their speculative doc-

trines may have been often corrupted by that science, falsely so called, which spread from the Alexandrian school over the whole Christian world; but the *integrity* of men who laid down their lives for what they *believed to be the truth,* cannot surely be questioned. "I see no reason," said one[a], who did not pay to them undue deference, "why their veracity "should be questioned, when they bear witness to "the state of religion in their own times, because "they disgraced their judgement, in giving ear to "every strange tale of monkish extraction. Con- "troversy apart, their testimony to common facts "may yet stand good;" and surely the constitution, government and discipline of the church, were common facts, about which none of them could be deceived.

The view however which Dr. Mosheim has given of the primitive church, appears not to us to be countenanced by any primitive writer; and accordingly he rarely appeals directly to them in support of what he advances, but refers to modern authors, generally French or Germans, who have written on the subject, and who could write nothing on it authentic, which they did not derive from the ancients. The qualifications indeed which he thinks essential to an historian, and the rules which he lays down for the manner of treating ecclesiastical history, though highly valuable in themselves, are by him stated in such a manner as cannot fail to excite, in the reflecting mind, suspicions of the authenticity of his account of the government and discipline of the primitive church. After observing that, in order to render the history of the church useful and interesting, it is necessary to trace effects to their causes, and to connect events with the circumstances, views, principles, and instruments that have contributed to their existence, he adds, "In order to discover the secret "causes of public events, some general succours are "to be derived from the history of the times in which

[a] Warburton in his introduction to Julian.

" they happened, and the testimonies of the authors " by whom they are recorded. But, beside these, a " considerable acquaintance with human nature, " founded on long observation and experience, is ex- " tremely useful in researches of this kind. The " historian who has acquired a competent knowlege " of the views that occupy the generality of men, " who has studied a great variety of characters, and " attentively observed the force and violence of hu- " man passions, together with the infirmities and " contradictions they produce in the conduct of life, " will find, in this knowlege, a key to the secret " reasons and motives which gave rise to many of " the most important events of ancient times. A " knowlege also of the manners and opinions of the " persons concerned in the events that are related, " will contribute much to lead us to the true origin " of things [b].

There is unquestionably much truth as well as good sense in this account of the qualifications requisite to render an historian instructive and interesting; for it is obvious that he who has merely studied human nature through the medium of books, not in the society of men, and who has not observed the motives which generally influence human conduct, can never trace events to their causes, or discover the springs of those actions on which perhaps the happiness or misery of millions may depend. But, if this knowlege of human nature be ever employed to counteract the testimony of ancient authors, who were under no conceivable temptation to write falsely; or if the actions of men in one stage of society be traced to the same motives from which similar actions are observed to spring in another stage altogether different, and in many respects the reverse; if, because men are prompted by avarice and ambition to solicit offices which at one period lead to honor and opulence, it be inferred that they must have

[b] Introduction, sect. xiii.

been influenced by similar motives at a period when such offices led not to opulence or honor, but to certain death, in its most hideous forms; if an historian reason thus from the observations which he has made on the force and violence of human passions, and set his conclusions in opposition to facts recorded by ancient authors, who were witnesses of what they relate; it is obvious that his confidence in the knowlege which he has acquired of human nature by mixing in society, may lead him into the greatest errors; by inducing him either to neglect entirely, or to inspect carelessly, those writings from which alone he can derive any authentic information concerning the events of which he is writing.

That Dr. Mosheim was not entirely free from some bias of this kind, seems evident, as, without appealing to any ancient authority whatever, he represents the government of the primitive church as democratical—a form of government unknown in the religious societies of that age, as well heathen as Jewish.

He had witnessed the tyranny of the Romish clergy, and had traced the steps and discovered the causes by which the bishops of Rome had gradually reached the summit of ecclesiastical usurpation; and not adverting perhaps to the fact that, before the conversion of Constantine, ecclesiastical preferment could be no object of worldly ambition or avarice, he appears to have hastily concluded that this progress had commenced from the very beginning.

Accordingly, as if the matter were self-evident, he affirms, in the introduction to his work[c], "that, "when we look back to the commencement of the "Christian church, *we find its government adminis-* "*tered jointly by the pastors and the people.* But, "in process of time, the scene changes, and we see "these pastors affecting an air of pre-eminence and "superiority, trampling upon the rights and privi-

[c] § vii.

" leges of the community, and assuming to them-
" selves a supreme authority, both in civil and reli-
" gious matters."

Of this joint administration of the government of the original church by the pastors and the people, he thinks it not necessary here to offer any evidence whatever; but, when he enters on the subject as an historian, and observes that the form of government, which the primitive churches borrowed from that of Jerusalem established by the apostles themselves, must be esteemed as of divine institution, he gives the following account of that form, which he endeavours to support by the authority of Scripture.

" In those early times, every Christian church
" consisted of the people, their leaders, and the mi-
" nisters, or deacons; and these indeed belong es-
" sentially to every religious society. The people
" were, undoubtedly, the first in authority; for the
" apostles shewed by their own example, that nothing
" of moment was to be carried on or determined
" without the consent of the assembly; and such a
" method of proceeding was both prudent and ne-
" cessary in those critical times. It was, therefore,
" the assembly of the people, which chose their own
" rulers and teachers, or received them by a free and
" authoritative consent, when recommended by
" others. The same people rejected or confirmed,
" by their suffrages, the laws that were proposed by
" their rulers to the assembly; excommunicated pro-
" fligate and unworthy members of the church; re-
" stored the penitent to their forfeited privileges;
" passed judgement upon the different subjects of
" controversy and dissension, that arose in the com-
" munity; examined and decided the disputes which
" happened between the elders and deacons; and, in
" a word, exercised all that authority which belongs
" to such as are invested with the sovereign power[d]."

Such, according to our author, was the govern-

[d] Cent. I. part ii. chap. ii. § 5, &c.

ment of the Christian church during the greater part of the first century; and he infers this supreme authority of the people from the Acts of the Apostles, chap. i. v. 15. vi. 3. xv. 4. xxi. 22; but it is difficult to conceive by what mode of interpretation these texts can be made to countenance the supreme authority of the *people* in the church.

At the time of the transaction mentioned in the fifteenth and following verses of the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, we know, from the testimony of St. Paul[e], that the number of believers in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood amounted at least to five hundred; but St. Luke assures us that the number of names met together at the appointment of Matthias to the apostleship, did not exceed one hundred and twenty. If the authority of the people was at that period supreme, and if it belonged to them to elect by their own suffrages even a successor in the apostleship to Judas, how came so very large a majority to be deprived of their right at the election of Matthias? On this question Dr. Lightfoot says[f], "Quum Matthias et Joses coram apostolis, ut par "candidatorum, sisterentur, haud constat universum "fidelium cœtum, sive individuum quemvis in eorum "electione suo nomine suffragia tulisse, quin in "presbyterio potius, sive in collegio virorum 108, "inter se coacto, jus et potestatem eligendi resedisse." And though in ordinary cases it belonged to the apostles to ordain, by imposition of hands, such as were chosen to fill any office in the church by those to whom they had deputed the right of election, yet in the present case, they left the determination between the candidates wholly to the giving-forth of lots, after solemnly praying that the divine head of the church would shew which of them he had chosen to take part of the ministry and apostleship from which Judas had fallen; and all this was done, as the

[e] 1 Cor. xv. 6.
[f] Oper. Omn. tom. ii. p. 758, edit. Roterodami.

same learned writer observes, "utpote qui gradus "apostolicos immediatâ quasi Christi manuductione "adierint."

The second text quoted by our author in support of the power of the people, appears to us to teach the very opposite doctrine in terms which cannot be mistaken. When the murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews arose on account of the neglect, real or supposed, of their widows in the daily ministration, the sovereign people did not take the treasure of the church into their own hands, and by their supreme authority appoint officers to distribute it to the poor with greater equity. They seem not indeed to have imagined that they had a right to take any step whatever in the matter, till "the twelve called "them together, and said—Look ye out among you "seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost "and wisdom, whom *we* (not *ye*) may appoint over "this business;" thus giving the people authority to elect, specifying the number and qualifications of the persons to be elected, and still reserving to themselves the authoritative appointment of those persons to the work for which they were to be chosen.

In the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles we are told, that a deputation was sent from Antioch to Jerusalem to consult—not the people—but the apostles and elders about the necessity of circumcision; that, when the deputies had come to Jerusalem, they were received by the church and by the apostles and elders; that these distinguished persons came together to consider of the matter referred to their decision; that, after much disputing among the apostles and elders, the question was decided against the necessity of circumcision; and that then it pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with their synodical decree. In all this there is not the slightest countenance given to the authority of the multitude. The people were not called together on the arrival of the deputies from Antioch; and indeed their number

was so great long before that period, that the tenth part of them could not have been contained in any house at the command of the apostles within the city of Jerusalem; nor would such a multitude have been allowed by the civil power to assemble quietly in the street or in the field. As many of them as could find admission were doubtless present at the deliberations of the apostles and elders on a question of such great and general importance; but the multitude is mentioned but once, and then as keeping profound silence. The synodical epistle to the Gentiles at Antioch and in Syria and Cilicia, is indeed written in the name of the apostles and elders and brethren; but this was, in those days, the common style of such epistles. Thus St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians is written, not in his own name only, but also in the names of all the brethren who were with him; and the first epistle of St. Clement his fellow-laborer (which is undoubtedly genuine) is in the name of "the church of God which dwelleth or sojourneth at "Rome, to the church of God which sojourneth at "Corinth;" though it is certain that all the brethren who were with St. Paul had no authority over the Galatians, nor the lay members of the church in Rome any right to expostulate with the church in Corinth. The synodical decree issued at Jerusalem may indeed, with the greatest propriety, be called the decree of the church, because it was enacted by the undoubted governors of the church; just as the acts of the British parliament are called the laws of Great Britain, though the people at large were not consulted in the framing of one of them.

The last text appealed to by Dr. Mosheim as a proof of the supreme authority of the people in the church, not only proves no such thing, but, if it be at all applicable to the question at issue, is of itself a complete proof that they had then no such authority, and indeed that they were wholly unfit to be entrusted with such authority.

The case was this. St. Paul, after an absence of

some length from Jerusalem, returned to that city, and on the day after his arrival went into the house of James, who is represented as having *all* the elders about him; but, as is evident from what passed, with not so much as *one* of the multitude of laymen in the company. When St. Paul had declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry, James and the elders glorified the Lord, and said unto him, "Thou seest, brother, how many "thousands of Jews there are who believe; and they "are all zealous of the law; and they are informed "of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews who are "among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying, that "they ought not to circumcise their children, neither "to walk after the customs. What is it (what is to be "done) therefore? The multitude must needs come "together, (it cannot be but they will come toge-"ther,) for they will hear that thou art come. Do "therefore this that we say unto thee: we have four "men which have a vow on them; them take, and "purify thyself with them, and be at charges with "them, that they may shave their heads: and all may "know (think or judge [g]) that those things whereof "they were informed concerning thee are nothing, "but that thou thyself also walkest orderly and "keepest the law." (Acts xxi. 19—24.)

This advice St. Paul followed, not however in *obedience* to the people as possessing in his opinion the supreme authority in the church of Jerusalem, but to humor a harmless prejudice, upon that principle which induced him, as he declares to the Corinthians [h], "to become unto the Jews as a Jew, that "he might gain the Jews; to them that were under

[g] In Stephens' Thesaurus, and even in Scapula's Lexicon, the reader will find a number of extracts from Xenophon, Plutarch, and other Greek writers, in which γινωσκω is of the same import with *censeo*, *existimo*, and *judico* in Latin. That it is used in that sense by St. Luke is obvious, since the multitude could not *know* that to be false, which was undoubtedly true.

[h] 1 Cor. ix. 20—28.

"the law, as under the law, that he might gain "them that were under the law; to them that were "without the law, as without the law, that he might "gain them that were without the law;" and, even in matters indifferent, "to become all things to all "men, that he might by all means save some." Had the multitude possessed the supreme power in the church of Jerusalem, St. James and the elders would undoubtedly have called them together to hear St. Paul's declaration of the things which God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry, and not have left them to be drawn together by their own curiosity and zeal, when they should hear of his arrival. At any rate St. James and the elders could not have proposed, nor would St. Paul have agreed, to impose on the people by even an innocent deception, had those people in the church of Jerusalem been the first in authority; for, in that case, it would have been the duty of the two apostles and elders to give a full and fair account of their own conduct to their superiors.

It was certainly known to St. Paul and St. James, and probably to the elders, that from the moment when the veil of the temple was rent in twain, the ceremonies of the Mosaic law were no longer obligatory on the disciples of their master. This, however, it appears, was not known to the great body of Jewish Christians dwelling at Jerusalem, who still continued zealous for the law as well as for the faith, and strongly attached to the customs of their fathers. Were men laboring under prejudices so inveterate, and in truth so inconsistent with the final object of the Gospel, fit to be intrusted with sovereign power in the Christian church; with authority to excommunicate unworthy members, or even with the privilege of choosing their own teachers? What should we think of the constitution of a great school, in which the sovereign power was committed to the scholars, with authority to expel every member whom they might deem unworthy, and even to dismiss the

masters, and choose teachers for themselves out of their own number? Could such a school be reasonably expected to prove a seminary of learning, science, virtue, or truth? Surely not; and yet Dr. Mosheim supposes that the Christian church, founded by the Son of God himself for the purpose of training up mankind in the faith, piety, and virtue necessary to render them "meet to be partakers of the inheri-"tance of the saints in light," was thus constituted. That he is in an error, no man can doubt, who reflects that the doctrines to be taught in the church were, till the manifestation of Christ, unknown in the world, and such as human reason could never have discovered; that of such doctrines half-converted Jews and Heathens were incompetent to judge; that these doctrines were therefore revealed, not to every individual in the church, but to those who were "given for the perfecting of the saints, for the work "of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of "Christ;" and that by those inspired teachers they were "committed only to faithful men, whom *they* "(not the multitude at large) judged able to teach "others also." How this was done, we shall endeavour to shew, when we come to give a view of the rise, progress, constitution, and object of the Christian church, from the infallible records of the New Testament, illustrated, where they seem obscure, by primitive practice; but, before we enter on that detail, it will be proper to analyse our author's account of the officers or ministers of the church, and of their different privileges, about which he seems to have fallen into mistakes as great as those which led him to attribute the supreme authority in each church to the people.

According to Dr. Mosheim, "the rulers of the "church were called either *presbyters*, or *bishops*, "which two titles are, in the New Testament, "undoubtedly applied to the same order of men, and "such as had distinguished themselves by their supe-"rior sanctity and merit. Their particular functions

" were not always the same; for, while some of " them confined their labors to the instruction of the " people, others contributed in different ways to the " edification of the church. Among the first pro- " fessors of Christianity, there were few men of " learning; few who had capacity enough to insi- " nuate, into the minds of a gross and ignorant mul- " titude, the knowlege of divine things. God, there- " fore, in his infinite wisdom, judged it necessary to " raise up, in many churches, extraordinary teachers, " who were to discourse, in the public assemblies, upon " the various points of the Christian doctrine, and to " treat with the people in the name of God, as " guided by his direction, and clothed with his au- " thority. Such were the *prophets* of the New " Testament, an order of men which ceased, when " the want of teachers, which gave rise to it, was " abundantly supplied.

" The church was undoubtedly provided from the " beginning with inferior ministers or *deacons*. No " society can be without its servants, and still less " such societies as those of the first Christians were; " and it appears not only probable, but evident, that " the young men, who carried away the dead bodies " of Ananias and Sapphira, were the subordinate " ministers or deacons of the church of Jerusalem, " who attended the apostles to execute their orders. " All the other Christian churches followed the " example of that of Jerusalem, in whatever related " to the choice and office of the deacons. Some, " particularly the eastern churches, elected dea- " conesses, and chose, for that purpose, matrons or " widows of eminent sanctity, who also ministered to " the necessities of the poor, and performed several " other offices, that tended to the maintenance of " order and decency in the church.

" Such was the constitution of the Christian " church in its infancy, when its assemblies were " neither numerous nor splendid. Three or four " presbyters, men of remarkable piety and wisdom,

" ruled these small congregations in perfect harmony;
" nor did they stand in need of any president or
" superior to maintain concord and order where no
" dissensions were known. But the number of
" presbyters and deacons increasing with that of the
" churches, and the sacred work of the ministry
" growing more painful and weighty, by a number
" of additional duties, these new circumstances re-
" quired new regulations. It was then judged
" necessary that a man of distinguished gravity and
" wisdom should preside in the council of presbyters,
" in order to distribute among his colleagues their
" several tasks, and to be a centre of union to the
" whole society. This person was at first styled the
" *angel* of the church to which he belonged, but was
" afterwards distinguished by the name of *bishop*, or
" inspector; a name borrowed from the Greek lan-
" guage, and expressing the principal part of the episco-
" pal function, which was to inspect and superintend
" the affairs of the church. It is highly probable, that
" the church of Jerusalem, grown considerably nume-
" rous, and deprived of the ministry of the apostles,
" who were gone to instruct the other nations, was the
" first which chose a president or bishop; and it is no
" less probable, that the other churches followed by
" degrees such a respectable example.

" A bishop, during the first and second centuries,
" was a person who had the care of one Christian
" assembly, which, at that time, was, generally
" speaking, small enough to be contained in a private
" house. In this assembly he acted, not so much
" with the authority of a *master*, as with the zeal
" and diligence of a faithful *servant*. He charged,
" indeed, the presbyters with the performance of
" those duties and services, which the multiplicity of
" his engagements rendered it impossible for him to
" fulfil; but he had not the power to decide or enact
" any thing without the consent of the presbyters
" and people; and, though the episcopal office was
" both laborious and singularly dangerous, yet its

"revenues were extremely small, since the church "had no certain income, but depended on the gifts or "oblations of the multitude, which were, no doubt, "inconsiderable, and were, moreover, to be divided "between the bishop, presbyters, deacons, and poor.

"The power and jurisdiction of the bishops were "not long confined to these narrow limits, but soon "extended themselves, and that by the following "means. The bishops, who lived in the cities, had, "either by their own ministry, or that of their pres- "byters, erected new churches in the neighbouring "towns and villages. These churches, continuing "under the inspection and ministry of the bishops, "by whose labors and counsels they had been en- "gaged to embrace the Gospel, grew imperceptibly into ecclesiastical provinces, which the Greeks "afterwards called *dioceses*. But, as the bishop of "the city could not extend his labors and inspection "to all those churches in the country and in the vil- "lages, so he appointed certain suffragans or deputies "to govern and to instruct these new societies; and "they were distinguished by the title of *Chorepiscopi*, "i. e. country bishops. This order held the middle "rank between bishops and presbyters, being inferior "to the former and superior to the latter[i]."

Such, according to our author, was the constitution of the Christian church during the first century and part of the second; for he affirms[k], that the jurisdiction of a bishop extended not over more than one Christian assembly, and that the authority of the people continued supreme, until the middle of the second century, when the ancient privileges of the people were considerably diminished, and the power and authority of the bishops greatly augmented, by *councils*, of which, he says, we find not the smallest trace before that period. It was not, he adds[l], till some time after the reign of Adrian, that

[i] Cent. I. part ii. chap. ii. sections 8, 9, 11, 12, 13.
[k] Cent. II. part ii. chap. ii. sect. 1, 2, 3.
[l] Sect. 4.

the Christian doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people, that the ministers of the Christian church succeeded to the character, rights, and privileges of the Jewish priesthood. Then, indeed, the bishops began to consider themselves as invested with a rank and character similar to those of the high-priest among the Jews, while the presbyters represented the priests, and the deacons the Levites.

In support of this detail, the author appeals not to one ancient writer; and the consequence is, that the greater part of it is in direct opposition to the unanimous testimony of all antiquity. He refers, indeed, to several texts in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles of St. Paul, as proofs of what, we believe, has never been controverted—that the titles of bishop and presbyter are in the New Testament indifferently applied to the same order of men. He seems however to mistake when he supposes that the order, to which these titles were commonly applied, consisted of the *rulers* of the church; for, though the apostles sometimes call themselves elders, the order to which that title as well as the title of bishop more properly belonged, was evidently subordinate to the apostles, as well as to the church rulers, whom he admits to have been known by the appellation of angels.

That the bishops or elders of the New Testament were subordinate to the apostles, has never been controverted; and that they were likewise subordinate to the *angels* of the churches, appears indisputable from the charges given by "him who hath the "sharp sword with two edges, who hath his eyes "like unto a flame of fire, and his feet like fine brass," to the angels of the churches of Pergamos and Thyatira[m]. These angels are described as eminent for their "good works, charity, service, stedfastness "in the faith, and patience;" and yet they are both severely blamed, and the former threatened for suffering in their respective churches false teachers,

[m] Rev. chap. ii. 12—21.

whom, if they were themselves nothing more than such presidents of congregational presbyteries as Dr. Mosheim describes, it is obvious that they could not remove from their churches. According to him, these presidents, afterwards called bishops, were chosen by the joint suffrages of the other presbyters and of the lay-members of the congregation to which they respectively belonged; when thus chosen, they acted in their respective congregations, not with the authority of masters, but with the zeal and diligence of faithful servants; they had not the power to decide or enact any thing without the consent of the presbyters and the people, who were in every church the first in authority; and therefore the censure and threatening, for suffering false teachers in the churches of Pergamos and Thyatira, were on his principles due, not to the *angels* of those churches, but to the presbyters and *people!* That the principles are erroneous which infer injustice in the Son of God, Dr. Mosheim would have been as ready as any man to confess; and therefore we have not a doubt that, if, instead of paying undue deference to the opinions of some of his less candid countrymen, he had duly weighed in his own mind the import of what the Spirit said to the seven churches, he would have perceived that the *angels* must have been of an order superior to the presbysters properly so called; and that they must have derived their superiority from some other source than the mere choice of the presbyters and people.

To the truth of this inference it is no objection, that, in the New Testament, all officers in the church above the order of deacons are indiscriminately called sometimes bishops and sometimes presbyters. In the Old Testament, the individuals of every order of priesthood, with the exception of the mere Levites, are generally styled priests without any distinction; though every Jew and every Christian know, that the high-priest was of an order superior to the rest, and authorised to perform at least one

ministration to which none of his inferiors were competent.

Dr. Mosheim, indeed, seems to think, that there is no resemblance, and hardly any analogy, between the Jewish priesthood and the Christian ministry; but this is a mistake so palpable, that a man of learning and integrity could not have fallen into it, but through the influence of some deep-rooted prejudice. In the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews there is an evident analogy pointed out between the Jewish and Christian churches, and, of course, between their respective ministers; and the first epistle of St. Clement of Rome furnishes incontrovertible evidence, that long before the reign of Adrian—and even in the first century,—the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were considered as invested with rank and characters similar to those of the high-priest, priests and Levites among the Jews. That apostolical father, whose name, we are assured by St. Paul, was in the book of life, expostulating with the Corinthians, then in a state of schism among themselves, and of sedition against the governors of their church, thus reasons with them.

"Let us consider those who fight under our "*earthly* governors; how orderly, how readily, and "with what exact obedience they perform those "things which are commanded them. All are not "generals, nor commanders of thousands, nor cen- "turions, nor captains of fifties, and so on; but "every one doeth those things which are enjoined "him by the king, and by those officers who have "the command over him. They who are great, "cannot yet subsist without those that are little; "nor the little without the great. There is a cer- "tain mixture in all things, and in these *there is* "fitness, χρῆσις. Let us take our own body: the "head is nothing without the feet; so neither are "the feet of use without the head: even the smallest "members of our body are necessary and useful to "the whole body: all conspire together, and are

" *adapted by one subordination*[n] to the preservation " of the whole. Let therefore our whole body be " saved in Christ Jesus; and let every one be sub- " ject to his neighbour according to the order in " which he is placed by the grace given him. Let " not the powerful despise the weak, and let the weak " reverence the powerful.

" Seeing then that these things are manifest unto " us, even looking into the depths of the divine " knowlege, we ought to do, in order, all things " which the Lord hath commanded us to do; at " stated times to perform our offerings and public " services; for he hath commanded them to be done " not rashly and disorderly, but at predetermined " times and hours. He hath determined also by his " own supreme will, *where* and *by whom* he would " have them to be celebrated; that so all things " being piously done, unto all well-pleasing, they " may be acceptable to his will. They therefore who " make their offerings at the appointed seasons, are " accepted and happy; for, following the instituted " laws (νομιμοις) of the Lord, they do not go astray. " For to the chief priest his proper services (λειτουργίαι) " are committed; and to the priests their proper " place is ordained; and on the Levites their proper " ministries (διακονιαι) are imposed; and the layman " is confined by the laws ordained for laymen[o].

It is impossible for an unprejudiced man to read these extracts with attention, and to entertain a doubt that St. Clement considered the bishops, priests, and Levites in the Christian church, as succeeding to the high-priest, priests and Levites in the Jewish. Indeed, if he understood, as he appears to have done, the great scheme of human redemption; if he believed, as our church believes, that, in the Old as well as in the New Testament, " everlasting " life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the

[n] ὑποταγῇ μιᾷ χρῆται.
[o] Chapters 37, 38 and 40.]

"*only* mediator between God and man;" if, with St. Paul and the inspired author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he considered Judaism as Christianity under a veil; he must have considered the Jewish and Christian churches as essentially the same, though the ministrations of the former were more carnal than those of the latter, on account of the grossness of the people. With this view of the stupendous plan of redemption, it seems impossible that he, or indeed any other man, could have considered the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the church, as succeeding to any thing else than the rank and character of the high-priest, priests and Levites of the temple; unless, indeed, there had been any text of Scripture *plainly declaring*, that the Jewish and Christian churches were wholly unconnected with each other, and that the former was not intended to serve as a schoolmaster to lead the descendants of Abraham to Christ. Such a text as this, however, none of the sons of latitude have yet pretended to discover.

It seems likewise very strange that Dr. Mosheim should have supposed that, in the church of Jerusalem, there was no fixed president over the presbyters or elders, till the dispersion of the apostles; and that the jurisdiction of such presidents, who were then styled angels and afterwards bishops, extended no farther, during the first and second centuries, than over one Christian assembly, which was generally small enough to be contained in a private house.

It has been already observed that St. James is represented, with the elders about him, as bishop of Jerusalem, when St. Paul returned to that city, and declared what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. Indeed the part, which, in the New Testament, James appears to have acted from a very early period, cannot be accounted for on any other supposition, than that he really was, what the concurring testimony of all antiquity declares him to have been, the fixed bishop or angel of

the church of Jerusalem. When St. Peter was miraculously delivered from prison, and had been received into the house of Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark, (Acts xii.) he said, "Go "shew these things to James and to the brethren." Why to James in particular? and why were the brethren with James rather than with John, who had acted a more conspicuous part than he during the life of our Lord, as well as at the first preaching of the apostles after the shedding abroad of the Holy Ghost, and who had not, at the period of St. Peter's deliverance, or for four years afterwards, left Jerusalem? In the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul says, that, "when Peter was come to "Antioch, he withstood him to the face, because he "was to be blamed. For before that certain came "from James, he (Peter) did eat with the Gentiles; "but, when they were come, he withdrew, and se-"parated himself, fearing them who were of the "circumcision." In the Acts of the Apostles we have no other account of persons from Judea teaching the Gentiles of Antioch, that, except they should be circumcised, they could not be saved, than that which is given in the fifteenth chapter; and it is indeed highly improbable, that, after the synodical decree at Jerusalem, St. Peter could have acted the part of which he was accused by St. Paul, or have *attempted* to "to *compel* the Gentiles to live as "do the Jews," contrary to the solemn decision of himself and the whole church under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost. There is therefore no room for reasonable doubt that it was on the occasion mentioned in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, and some time before the meeting of the council at Jerusalem, that this dissension took place between those great apostles. But by St. Luke the certain men, who wished to impose circumcision and the other rites of the Mosaic law on the Gentile Christians at Antioch, are said only to have come from *Judea;* whereas by St. Paul they are said to have come from

James. Why are certain men, who came down from Judea, represented as having come from James, rather than from the other apostles and elders, of whom it is evident, from the short history of the council, that there must have been many then residing in Jerusalem.

If St. James was the proper bishop of Jerusalem, all these facts, which, upon any other supposition, cannot be accounted for, were perfectly natural; for, to whom was it so expedient that St. Paul should give an account of "the things which God "had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry," as to the bishop and presbyters of the mother church of the Hebrews? To what individual of the church of Jerusalem should St. Peter have sent the earliest account of his miraculous deliverance from prison, but to the bishop of that church? If St. James had not been that bishop, is it conceivable that St. Peter would have sent such welcome intelligence to him, rather than to his more intimate friend and companion, St. John, who was the disciple peculiarly dear to their divine Master? And could any thing be more natural than for St. Paul to say that certain brethren, who came to Antioch from the church of Judea, came from the *governor* of that church? This accounts likewise for St. James's presiding in the council of apostles and elders, which was holden in Jerusalem, for determining the question about circumcising the Gentiles; for that he was president of that council is incontrovertible, if any credit be due to the testimony of antiquity, to the unanimous opinion of critics and commentators (a few members of the modern church of Rome excepted), or, indeed, to the obvious meaning of his words, Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω, &c.

But if James was bishop of the church of Jerusalem, and if the constitutions of all other churches were framed after that model, there is surely no reason to suppose that, even in the first century, and still less in the second, the bishop or angel of any church had the care of only one Christian assembly.

The episcopal care of James unquestionably extended over many assemblies. By the preaching of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, after the miraculous effusion of the Holy Ghost, we are assured [p], that to the number of the disciples "there were added "about three thousand souls." It is indeed probable, that of these many were strangers, who, after the celebration of the feast, which had brought them to Jerusalem, departed from that city, and returned to their respective countries. It appears, however, that, soon afterwards, the number of believers resident in Jerusalem amounted to five thousand; and, by the time that St. Paul returned to give an account to James and the elders, of what things God had done by his ministry among the Gentiles, even that number had greatly increased [q]. But ten or even five thousand men could not meet for public worship, for the breaking of bread and for prayers, in any private house, or any ten private houses, belonging to the Christians in Jerusalem; and, therefore, as James appears to have had the episcopal care of them all, that care must have extended over many assemblies.

That such was the nature of episcopal jurisdiction even in that age appears still more evident, if possible, from St. John's epistle, in the Apocalypse, to the seven churches in Asia. That epistle is addressed, not ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, as it probably would have been, had it been intended for seven of a greater number of churches in Asia Minor, but ταις ἑπτα ἐκκλησίαις ταις (ἐκκλησιαις) εν τη Ἀσια, to the seven churches, the churches in Asia. Those seven, therefore, must have been the only societies in Asia Minor so organised as to be entitled to the appellation of churches, at the time when St.

[p] Acts ii. 41.

[q] The words of St. James in the original Greek are, Θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφὲ, πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν πεπιστευκότων, &c. You see, brother, how many *myriads* there are of Jews who believe, &c.

John wrote the Apocalypse. But is it conceivable that, in an age when "so mightily grew the word "of God, and prevailed," the number of believers, in a country so extensive, which had been visited by different apostles and apostolical men, should, in the year 96, have been so very small as to constitute only seven Christian congregations? Even if this could be conceived, the Christians in Asia Minor were too much scattered over the face of the country, to repair, every one, for the purpose of public worship, to one or other of the small oratories of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. From the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, we know that, long before the writing of the Apocalypse, there were believers in various provinces and towns of Asia Minor, and even regular churches in the province of Galatia and the city of Colosse; but it seems evident, from the manner in which St. John expresses himself, that, before the year 96, "the "candlesticks of Galatia and Colosse," to use the apostle's language, "had been removed out of their "places." This indeed can excite no wonder, when we reflect that every where the churches were in that age beset by persecution without, and by heresies within; that the churches of the Galatians appear to have been exceedingly corrupt, even when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to them; and that the city of Colosse was destroyed by an earthquake during the reign of Nero, and, if ever rebuilt, certainly not when the Apocalypse was written. It is not however to be supposed that there were then no Christians in Galatia or the neighbourhood of Colosse, or that those Christians did not meet regularly in different congregations for "the breaking of bread and for pray-"ers." The only inferences that can be drawn, are, that those assemblies did not constitute what St. John called *churches*, and that they, with their presbyters and deacons, were under the temporary inspection either of the apostle himself, or of some

of the angels of the seven churches, of which he speaks as the only churches then in Asia.

That the jurisdiction of Timothy and Titus extended over more than one Christian assembly at Ephesus and in Crete; that by the apostle they were invested with authority over the presbyters as well as people of those assemblies; and that to them an exclusive right was given to ordain elders or presbyters in every city under their jurisdiction; are facts which no man has ventured to deny, and which no man can deny, who has read St. Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus, and at the same time possesses common sense and honesty. Attempts have indeed been made to get rid of the inference from these facts, by representing the extensive authority with which Timothy and Titus were entrusted, as the authority, not of fixed governors of the churches over which they were to preside, but of *Evangelists!* This, however, cannot be admitted. We are not aware of a single instance in the New Testament, where an evangelist, as such, is represented as ordaining elders or even deacons; and it is certain that Timothy and Titus neither acted nor could act as evangelists at Ephesus or in Crete, except in a sense which, under that denomination, includes elders.

The word *evangelist* is unquestionably derived from the verb ευαγγελιζω, which, according to an able critic[r] not prejudiced in behalf of a hierarchy, "relates to the *first* intimation that is given to a "person or people, that is, when the subject may "be properly called *good news*. Thus, in the Acts "of the Apostles, it is frequently used for the first "publication of the Gospel in a city or village, or "amongst a particular people." But if this be essential to the radical import of the verb, of which indeed there can be no doubt, then it follows that an

[r] Dr. Campbell, of Aberdeen.

evangelist, considered as a distinct character, could only be one, whether apostle, elder, deacon, or layman, who first carried the glad tidings of the Gospel to an individual or a people. Hence it is, that of the seven deacons not one is called an evangelist but Philip, because, though Stephen preached the Gospel as well and as ably as he, Philip is the only one of the number mentioned by St. Luke as having carried the glad tidings of the Gospel beyond the limits of Judea, within which these tidings were *first told* by Christ and his apostles. Hence too it follows, that those, whom St. Paul says that Christ, after his ascension, "gave as *evangelists* for the "work of the ministry," must have been men miraculously inspired with the knowlege of the Gospel, which cannot be said of Timothy or of Titus, and impelled by the same heavenly influence to communicate that knowlege to those to whom it was *new*. But in this sense Timothy and Titus could not be evangelists to the churches of Ephesus and Crete, because St. Paul himself had preached the Gospel in those churches before them, and had even ordained presbyters in the church of Ephesus.

It has indeed been said that εὐαγγελίζομαι is occasionally used in the same sense with διδάσκω. If we grant this for the sake of argument, though we are not aware of a single instance in which one of these verbs could be properly substituted for the other, still we must observe that the character of an evangelist, in this sense of the word, could give to Timothy no superiority over the elders of Ephesus, who were *teachers* as well as he, and enjoined by the apostle to "feed the church of God, which he had pur-"chased with his own blood." Timothy was indeed exhorted by St. Paul to "do the work of an evan-"gelist" at Ephesus; but the elders were in duty bound, as well as he, to do the work of evangelists; for in Ephesus there were then many people who had not *heard* of the Gospel, which every minister of

Christ is bound, as he has opportunity, to propagate among the heathens as well as to preach among Christians. Timothy was likewise exhorted, in the very same verse, to "accomplish his deaconship"—τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον; but it would surely be absurd to infer from such an exhortation that the overseer of the presbyters and people of Ephesus was himself nothing more than a deacon.

If it be thus evident that the bishops known in the first century by the titles of apostles or angels of the churches presided each over more than one Christian assembly, we need not pursue the argument through the second and third centuries, since it is on all hands agreed, that the powers of the bishops were not diminished as the boundaries of the church were enlarged. This would have been extremely absurd; though we see no evidence that, during the second and third centuries, the bishops in general either claimed or had the smallest inducement to claim any power or pre-eminence which they possessed not in the first. What the hierarchy was in the beginning of the second century is apparent from the epistles of Ignatius, and from the fragments of other primitive writers preserved by Eusebius, whilst the canons commonly called apostolical, with the writings of St. Cyprian and other fathers of the church, define the powers and privileges of each of the three orders in the third century in terms which cannot be mistaken. From these canons and writings it appears evident, that no bishop in that century, with the exception perhaps of Victor and Stephen, bishops of Rome, arrogated to himself any authority which was not committed to the angels of the Asiatic churches, and which Timothy and Titus were not enjoined to exercise in the churches of Ephesus and Crete.

The only thing else, in Dr. Mosheim's view of the constitution of the primitive church, which calls for animadversion, is the account which he gives of the

origin of *chorepiscopi*, and of deacons in the church of Jerusalem, before the ordination of the seven recorded in the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

There is no evidence of *chorepiscopi* being any where established in the first or second century, or in the beginning of the third. They are not mentioned in the apostolical canons, nor in the writings of Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, or even St. Cyprian. The first council that takes any notice of them is that of Ancyra, holden in 315, which prohibits them from ordaining priests and deacons. They are mentioned by the great council of Nice, which provides the place of a village-bishop or *chorepiscopus* for such of the Novatian bishops as should abjure their schism, and be reconciled to the catholic church. But the fullest, as well as the most accurate and at the same time concise account, that is perhaps any where extant of the *chorepiscopi*, is in the tenth canon of the synod of Antioch, holden in the year 341, which decrees,

"That village-bishops, though they have received "episcopal ordination, shall yet keep within their "bounds, and administer the affairs of the churches "subject to them, and be content with the manage- "ment of them, and ordain readers, and sub- "deacons, and exorcists, and content themselves "with the power of promoting men to these offices, "and not dare to ordain a priest or deacon, without "the consent of the bishop of the city to which they "themselves and their districts are subject; and, if "any one dare to transgress what has now been "determined, he shall be deprived of the honor "which he has. A village-bishop is made by the "bishop of the city to which he is subject [s]."

[s] Τὸς ἐν τᾶις κώμαις, ἢ τᾶις χώραις, ἢ τὸς καλωμένως χωρεπισκόπως, εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα, καὶ διοικεῖν τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ τοτων ἀρκεῖσθαι φροντίδι καὶ κηδεμονία, καθίσταν δὲ ἀναγνώστας, καὶ ὑποδιακόνως, καὶ ἐξορκίστας, καὶ τῇ τούτων

From this canon it is evident that the *chorepiscopi* were bishops regularly ordained; that they were chosen or nominated by the city-bishop, or diocesan, to take upon them part of his labor, and were in all things to be directed by him, when their duty was not expressly pointed out by any canon. They seem to have been introduced into the church toward the end of the third century, when the extent of some dioceses, the poverty of the bishops, and the occasional severity of persecution, rendered it difficult if not impossible for the diocesan to perform, as often as was proper, the various duties of his function; but those village-bishops appear to have sometimes acted very irregularly, by multiplying without reason the number of the inferior clergy [t], and therefore were soon laid aside. They were indeed retained for some time after the danger of persecution was over, and when the revenues of the city-bishop enabled him, without inconvenience, to visit every church under his jurisdiction; but, in 367, it was decreed by the council of Laodicea, that no more village-bishops or *chorepiscopi* should be ordained.

Though we see no evidence whatever that the young men, who carried away the dead bodies of Ananias and Sapphira, were such ministers of the church of Jerusalem, as Stephen and Philip and the other five, who were ordained at the same time with them by the apostles; yet we readily admit that the words νεώτεροι and νεανίσκοι *may* signify the inferior ministers of the church, as well as the word πρεσβύτεροι signifies those of a higher order: we even readily adopt Dr. Mosheim's opinion, that the words μείζων and νεώτερος (St. Luke xxii. 26.) νεώτεροι and

ἀρκεῖσθαι προαγωγῇ, μήτε δὲ πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν, δίχα τῆ ἐν τῇ πολει ἐπισκόπῃ, ἢ ὑπόκεινται αὐτός τέ και ἡ χωρα. Ει δὲ τολμησειεν τις παραβῆναι τὰ ὁρισθέντα, καθαιρεσθαι αυτὸν, ης μετέχει τιμης. Χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ γινεσθαι ὑπο τῆ της πολεως, ἢ ὑποκειται, ἐπισκοπῇ.

[t] See the Canons of St. Basil, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, canon 90.

πρεσβυτέροις (1 Peter v. 5.) relate to *offices* and not to *age*, and that νεώτεροι *may*, in both these texts, mean those ministers of the church, who, from the beginning, have been known by the designation of deacons; but it does not therefore follow that the young men, who carried out the dead bodies of Ananias and Sapphira, were likewise deacons in the ecclesiastical sense of the word.

Among the Jews, every person who touched a dead body was thereby rendered unclean; and it is not very probable that St. Peter would wantonly give offence to that people, by ordering the ministers of the religion which it was his duty to preach, but against which he knew them to entertain the most inveterate prejudices, to render themselves unclean by doing what the door-keepers could have done as well as they. The young men who were employed to carry away the dead bodies, may indeed have been διάκονοι in the sense of menial servants of the infant church; but, in the Acts of the Apostles, there is not the slightest allusion to *ordained* deacons until we come to the sixth chapter, which gives so full an account of the ordination of the seven. Accordingly an ancient commentator, whose testimony, respecting a matter of fact, is surely entitled to greater credit than the mere conjecture of the most learned modern, says expressly, when speaking of the conversion and baptism of Cornelius the centurion,—*Adhuc enim præter septem diaconos nullus fuit ordinatus*[u].

The difficulty in ascertaining the original constitution of the church is indeed greater than he can easily conceive, who has not attended to the power of prejudice. The controversies on the subject have been so acrimonious, and the tendency to confound Christianity with a mere system of what is called natural religion, is in the present age so very prevalent, that few men have brought, to the inquiry, minds so completely divested of prepossession, as to

[u] Hilar. in Eph. cap. iv.

be capable of judging impartially. The truth may be detailed in the Scriptures with sufficient clearness; but we all study those writings under a bias, more or less powerful, in favor of the party to which we belong; and that bias, especially if we have ourselves been engaged in controversy, is very apt to prevent us from seeing what is written even as with a sun-beam. We may be ambitious of making *discoveries* in theology, and of becoming the founders of new sects; and such ambition must necessarily impel us to differ as much as possible from the luminaries of antiquity, that we may display the vigor of our own minds, and our superiority to what we are pleased to call prejudice: or we may be so attached to antiquity as to consider every practice and every rite of the primitive church, as of perpetual obligation, not distinguishing between what was deemed essential, and what was even then considered as only expedient, in consequence of the circumstances in which the church was placed.

To avoid as much as possible the errors which flow from these sources, it will be proper to trace the progress of the Gospel from the first preaching of John the Baptist, to the completion of the canon of the New Testament; ascertaining, as we proceed, the import of the principal doctrines preached, as well as the offices and authority of the several preachers; and pointing out at the same time the privileges of the people. As all parties appeal to Scripture in support of their own opinions and systems, it would be fortunate if men could agree on some rule, by which Scripture, where it appears obscure, should be interpreted; and the constitution of the church being a matter of fact obvious to all mankind, it seems not difficult to find the rule, by which whatever relates to it may be interpreted with little danger of mistake. If the principles of the persons, to whom the writings which compose the New Testament were immediately addressed, can be ascertained, it will be easy, in cases of any import-

ance, to discover how those writings should themselves be understood; and, with respect to *matters of fact*, there can be no doubt, that they who conversed with the apostles, perfectly understood their meaning. Indeed, as long as the pastors of the Christian church had no worldly ambition to gratify, by bringing themselves into public notice; as long as pre-eminence among them led not to opulence and power, but to poverty, persecution and death; it would be in the highest degree unreasonable to question their veracity, when they are giving an account of the constitution of the church, as established by the apostles. Their testimony therefore may be safely employed, not as of authority in itself, but as an authentic commentary on what is taught on that subject in the sacred pages; and as such only do we mean to appeal to it.

That the church, whatever be its constitution, is something of great importance, is unquestionable, since it was deemed worthy of being alluded to, even by the *forerunner* of our Lord. The very first words on record, of the venerable Baptist's preaching, are, "repent ye, for the kingdom of Heaven is at "hand;" by which was undoubtedly meant the kingdom of the Messiah, or the church of Christ, soon to be established instead of the Jewish polity and temple. He goes on, to say, "that every valley "should be filled, and every mountain and hill be "made low; that the crooked should be made "straight, and the rough ways smooth; and that all "flesh should see the salvation of God;" and soon afterwards, when he saw Jesus coming unto him, he said to the multitude, "Behold the lamb of God, "which taketh away the sin of the world."

Our blessed Lord began his own preaching with the very same words—"Repent, for the kingdom of "heaven is at hand;" or, as St. Mark expresses it, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of "the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is ful-"filled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent

" ye, and believe the Gospel." According to St. Luke, " When Jesus returned, in the power of the " Spirit, into Galilee, from the scene of his tempta- " tion, he came to Nazareth, where he had been " brought up; and, as his custom was, he went into " the synagogue on the Sabbath-day, and stood up " to read. And there was delivered to him the book " of the prophet Esaias; and, when he had opened " the book, he found the place where it is written, " the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath " anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor, he " hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach " deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight " to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised; " to preach the acceptable year of the Lord;" and this passage of the prophet, he applied to himself.

No Christian can be ignorant, that, in this first preaching of our Lord and his faithful forerunner, there is at least one very important truth, which was wholly unknown to the Gentiles, and very little understood by the generality of the Jews. It is contained in these words of the Baptist—" Behold the Lamb " of God which taketh away *the sin* (τὴν ἁμαρτίαν), " not the *sins*, of the world." What is the sin of the world? Evidently the transgression of our first parents, which brought death and many other miseries on themselves, and all their posterity; and to take away these consequences of that sin, was the purpose for which a redeemer was first promised to the fallen pair, and from which the " Word, which was in the " beginning with God, and was God," condescended to take upon him human nature, and, with the patience of a lamb led to the slaughter, to die on a cross. Controversies have been agitated in the church from a very early period, concerning the nature of that *death*, which was brought upon the human race by the fall of our first parents. This is not a proper place for discussing such topics; but, whatever more may be included in the signification of the words מות תמות, it is evident from the

whole scope of the Christian revelation, that the death incurred by the first transgression was absolute, without any reason to hope for a resurrection from the dead, but through the interposition of that seed of the woman, which was to bruise the head of the serpent.

Our Saviour says expressly—" *I am the resurrec-* " *tion and the life:* he that believeth in me, though " he were dead, yet shall live; and whosoever liveth, " and believeth in me, shall never die;" and, in another place, he says—" I am he that liveth and " was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore; " and have the keys of hell (hades) and death." In perfect conformity with this, St. Paul taught the Corinthians, and, through them, the whole Christian world, that " Christ is risen from the dead, and " become the first fruits of them that slept; for, " since by man came death, by man came also the " resurrection of the dead: and, as in Adam all die, " even so in Christ shall all be made alive." That these salutary truths were not wholly unknown to the ancient prophets, and such other Israelites as could look through the shadows of the law to the substance of the Gospel, is indisputable; but that they were not fully comprehended by any Jew, in the days of our Saviour's sojourning on earth, is evident from a variety of passages in the New Testament, as well as from the unquestionable fact, that the Sadducees, " who said that there is no resurrection, nei- " ther angel nor spirit," were not only in communion with the other Jews, but capable even of executing the office of high-priest. The people therefore were not prepared, at our blessed Lord's first appearance, to receive these truths in all their lustre; but, as it would have been improper—and too like the common practice of impostors—to conceal entirely the great object of his mission even for a moment, he proclaimed in the words of the prophet Isaiah, that he was sent to preach the Gospel to the poor, and 'deliverance to the captives,' and to 'set at liberty them

'that were bruised,' which can mean nothing but deliverance from the curse of death, brought on mankind when the serpent bruised Adam's heel.

As these truths are wholly discovered by revelation, they could not be left to make their way in the world, like the dogmas of philosophy, by the discussions of human reason; for, by the philosophers of that age, a resurrection from the dead was deemed impossible. Accordingly both our Lord and his forerunner declared that a *kingdom* was at hand—even the kingdom of heaven or of God, in which all obstacles to their reception were to be taken away; which should comprehend the Gentiles here called the *blind*[w], and in which "*all flesh* should see the "salvation of God." That by the kingdom of Heaven was meant the church of Christ, will be seen more clearly in the sequel. At present it is sufficient to observe that, though at hand, it was not yet come.

Our Saviour, however, began to lay the foundation of it immediately after his baptism, by preaching the Gospel, by inviting all the Jews to become his disciples, and by working miracles to prove the truth of his mission. By these means he attracted many disciples, whom he baptized, not, as John had done, in the name of "one to come after him[x]," but probably in general terms unto faith in the Messiah, declaring that without his baptism no man should enter into *the kingdom of God*[y] or the church. Of these disciples, after continuing all night in prayer to God, "he chose twelve, that they should be with "him, and that he might send them forth to preach, "whom he named apostles[z];" and some time afterwards "he appointed other seventy also, and sent

[w] That such is the meaning of the word *blind*, in this passage of St. Luke's gospel, appears unquestionable, when it is compared with other parts of Scripture, more especially with St. John, chap. x. 16, and Rom. ii. 17, 21.

[x] Acts xix. 4. [y] John iii. 5.

[z] St. Luke vi. 12, 13.

"them two and two before his face into every city "and place whither he himself would come[a]." That the seventy were subordinate to the twelve, and that they were all subject to their divine Master, is evident from every passage in the Gospels, in which any mention is made of these two orders of ministers; and in this arrangement for laying the foundation of the Christian church, there is a striking resemblance to the means employed for conducting the Israelites to the land of promise.

The Israelites were delivered from Egyptian slavery by Moses the *servant* of God; the members of the Christian church, who walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called, are delivered from slavery infinitely more intolerable by Jesus Christ the *Son* of God. The twelve tribes of Israel were conducted under Moses through the wilderness, by twelve officers, the heads of their respective tribes; and, on the foundation of the Christian church, Christ appointed twelve apostles, who, when he should sit on the throne of his "Glory, should also sit on twelve thrones, judging "the twelve tribes of Israel." And to complete the analogy, as the Lord commanded Moses to gather unto him seventy men of the elders of Israel, who, partaking of the spirit that was upon him, should bear the burthen of the people with him[b]; so Christ appointed the like number of disciples to go before his face to every place, whither he himself should come.

An analogy so striking could not escape the observation of the apostles, after their divine Master had "opened their understandings, that they might "understand the Scriptures[c]," and perceive the close connexion between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. But, if the analogy between what may be called the civil polity of the Israelites in the

[a] St. Luke x. 1. [b] Numbers xi. 16.
[c] St. Luke xxiv. 45.

wilderness, and the subordination established among our Lord's immediate followers, be thus evident, the analogy between the polity of the Jewish church and the same subordination is surely not less evident.

In what relates to religion, the disciples could not but perceive that the station of Jesus himself resembled that of the high-priest; that the twelve held a place in the little flock similar to that of the priests among the Jews; and that the seventy answered to the Levites in the temple service. The twelve were sent out to preach the Gospel to all the Jews; to baptize [d] the converts to the Christian faith; and, a little before the death of their Master, they were authorised to administer the rite commemorative of his sacrifice on the cross. To the seventy no other commission was given than to go before the face of Christ, and prepare the people for his reception, as "the Levites were given to Aaron and his sons, to "wait upon the service of the tabernacle of the con-"gregation [e]." But neither the twelve nor the seventy had yet power to admit a single laborer into the vineyard, or to cast an individual out of the flock.

The church indeed was not yet built [f], though its foundation was laid, and a model exhibited for its future superstructure. As it is the purchase of Christ's blood, who gave himself for it [g], the building could not be completed till after his resurrection from the dead, and his ascension into heaven; and therefore the apostles were from the beginning intended to be the builders [h], as soon as they should, for that purpose, be endowed with power from on high. It has accordingly been justly observed by an eminent prelate of the church of England [i], that they were gradually raised to their high office in a manner strikingly analogous to that in which their blessed

[d] St. John iv. 1, 2.
[e] Numbers iii. 9. viii. 24.
[f] St. Matth. xvi. 18, 19.
[g] Gal. v. 25.
[h] 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.
[i] Archbishop Potter.

Master was raised to his; and that hardly any power is said to have belonged to him, which he did not delegate to them, when he commissioned them to complete the work which he had begun.

Although he was anointed, from his first appearance in this world, to be a king, priest, and prophet, he did not actually enter on any of those offices, until the Holy Ghost, descending visibly from heaven, had anointed him to them a second time. In like manner, though at an early period of his ministry he had separated the twelve from the multitude of believers, and promised even then that they "should "sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of "Israel," and that "whatsoever they should bind "on earth should be bound in heaven, and whatso- "ever they should loose on earth should be loosed "in heaven;" they did not actually receive this high commission, till after the resurrection of their divine Master, when he appeared to them saying,—"Peace be unto you; as my Father hath "sent me, even so send I you. And when he had "said this, he breathed on them, saying—Receive "ye the Holy Ghost; whose-soever sins ye remit, "they are remitted unto them; and whose-soever "sins ye retain, they are retained[k]."

Whilst our blessed Lord sojourned on earth, he was the king of the Jews only, and, as such, when he sent forth the twelve to preach, he said, "Go "not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any "city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go rather "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel[l]." After his resurrection from the dead, as the limits of his kingdom were extended, he extended likewise the commission of his apostles; for he said unto them, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. "Go ye therefore and teach *all nations*, baptizing "them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, "and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe

[k] St. John xx. 21, 22, 23. [l] St. Matth. x. 5, 6.

"all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and "lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the "world[m]." They were not however to enter on this great office of converting the nations, and opening to them the kingdom of heaven, until they should receive the promise of the Father, which they had heard from him; for, added he, "John truly bap- "tized with water, but ye shall be baptized with "the Holy Ghost not many days hence[n];" alluding undoubtedly to his own baptism, when the Holy Ghost visibly descended on himself, as he did on them at the ensuing festival of Pentecost.

Thus striking is the analogy between the manner in which the man Christ Jesus was raised to his high office, and that in which he raised the apostles to theirs; and thus ample was the authority which he conferred on those master-builders of his church. As the promise of the keys of the kingdom was first made to St. Peter, he had the honor to make the first converts both among the Jews and the Gentiles. It was in consequence of his preaching on the day of Pentecost, that three thousand souls were added to the number of the disciples; and then we read for the first time of a *church* as actually *built*. Immediately after the effects of that preaching it is said that "the Lord added to *the church* daily such as "should be saved[o]." St. Peter was likewise employed to open the door of the kingdom of Heaven, or the church, to the Gentiles[p], who, being "aliens "to the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to "the covenant of promise," had hitherto been shut out from it; and this personal distinction—the reward of his heroic zeal in confessing his master—is the only foundation on which the supremacy of his successors in the see of Rome is endeavoured to be built, although it is obviously a distinction in which

[m] St. Matth. xxviii. 18, &c.
[n] Acts i. 4, 5.
[o] Acts ii. 14, &c.
[p] Acts x.

he could have no successor, being indeed temporary, and consisting in two single acts [q].

Of these acts one was performed in Jerusalem, and in that city was the first Christian church gradually organized; but it was not placed under the government of St. Peter, nor was it governed by the apostles in common. We have already seen that he who presided over the church of Jerusalem, even before the dispersion of the apostles, was James, called the Lord's brother; that under him was a college of elders (we know not how many), and subordinate to them were the seven deacons. When it is said that the church of Jerusalem was not governed by the apostles in common, nothing more is meant than that James was its *immediate* governor, or stood in a relation to the elders, deacons and people of that church, in which the other apostles did not stand; and of this fact no man can doubt who has read without prejudice the Acts of the Apostles. That James was ready to be guided by the judgement of the apostles; that he consulted them, as long as he had an opportunity, in all the trials to which he must have been subjected; and that he occasionally enforced his own admonitions by the weight of their authority, is readily granted; but he never appears in the Acts, or is mentioned in the epistles of St. Paul, but as the chief governor of the church of Jerusalem, of which he is called by the unanimous voice of antiquity the first bishop.

Here then is one church, of which the constitution was unquestionably not democratical; and all the other churches that we read of in the New Testament appear to have been constituted on the same model with the church of Jerusalem. The apostles, in the discharge of the duties of their high commission, not only preached the Gospel every where, but

[q] This has been proved by bishop Horsley, in one of his published sermons, with a force of reasoning that admits no reply. See his Sermons.

also "ordained presbyters or elders in every church [r];" and in the churches of Ephesus and Philippi [s], and doubtless in all the rest, they appear to have ordained deacons as well as presbyters. It has indeed been contended that the deacons were merely trustees for the poor in matters purely secular, and therefore no order of those who have long been known in every church by the denomination of *the clergy;* but the solemnity with which the first deacons were ordained by prayer and imposition of hands, the qualifications required of those who were to be ordained deacons in the church of Ephesus, and the universal practice of the primitive church, prove this to be a palpable mistake. To distribute the public charity has indeed been one part of the deacon's office in all ages, and in every church where a legal establishment was not made for the support of the poor; and it was that part of the office which gave rise to the order at *the particular time* at which it was instituted; but that the office included something more—and that the seven were, in the language of antiquity, διακονοι λογου—ministers of the word, as well as διακονοι τραπεζων—ministers of the tables,—is evident from every thing that we read of deacons in the New Testament.

It has been already observed that in the churches of Ephesus, Crete, and Asia Minor, as well as in the church of Jerusalem, there were officers of a higher order than the presbyters; and to these officers alone belonged the right to ordain the presbyters and deacons; to exhort them to the due discharge of their respective duties; to reprove them for their faults [t], and by consequence to degrade them from their offices, when no longer worthy of them. If Timothy and Titus had not been invested with all this authority, the admonitions of St. Paul to them would surely have been different from what we find

[r] Acts xiv. 23. [s] 1 Philip. i. 1; and 1 Tim. iii. 8.
[t] See the Epistles to Timothy and Titus *passim*.

them in his three epistles. Timothy is particularly instructed in the qualifications requisite for presbyters and deacons; cautioned against laying hands suddenly on any man, lest he should be partaker of other mens sins; and directed how to receive accusations against presbyters; but, if the supreme power in the church of Ephesus had been vested in the people, or if the presbyters had shared equally with Timothy authority to ordain and reprove each other, such instructions as these to any individual would have been palpably absurd. It would likewise have been absurd to appoint Titus to ordain presbyters in *every* city of Crete, and after the first and second admonition to reject heretics; for, if it had belonged to the office of a presbyter to ordain, and finally to judge of heresies, the presbyter first ordained by him, might, *ex officio*, and with the aid of the people, have either supported or resisted him in the discharge of these duties.

The governors of churches, to whom the presbyters as well as people were thus subject, appear, as Dr. Mosheim acknowleges, to have been generally called, during the first century, the *angels* or *apostles* of their respective churches. Such a governor certainly was Epaphroditus, styled by St. Paul his "brother, and companion in labor, and fellow-soldier; "but the *apostle* of the church of Philippi," and therefore to be "holden by the Philippians in reputation[u]." Such likewise were Sosthenes and Sylvanus, whom he so frequently associates with himself as his partners, fellow-helpers and brethren; and such were those brethren whom he calls ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, δόξα Χριστοῦ—"apostles of the churches, the glory of "Christ[x]."

Doubtless there were presbyters ordained in some places, where no men were sufficiently qualified for the government of the infant church; and the care of such churches was retained by the apostle by

[u] Philip. ii. 25, 29. [x] 2 Cor. viii. 23.

whom they were founded, until some persons could be found to whom the immediate inspection both of the presbyters and the people might be safely entrusted. Hence it is that St. Paul, when enumerating his labors and sufferings for the promotion of the Gospel, expressly mentions, as one of those labors which came upon him daily—"the care of all "the churches which he had planted." It is however evident that each church was, as soon as possible, placed under the superintendance of an apostle or angel of its own, that the twelve, with St. Paul and Barnabas, might be as little as possible interrupted in their glorious career of converting all nations; but it does not appear that in the appointment of these *angels* or secondary *apostles*, or indeed of the *presbyters*, the people were, in the first century, so much as consulted. Paul and Barnabas ordained elders or presbyters in every church which they planted; but St. Paul himself assures us that the presbyters, so ordained in the church of Ephesus, "were made "overseers of the flock (not by the people but) by the "Holy Ghost, to feed the church of God, which he "hath purchased with his own blood[y]." He likewise informs us that God, and not the people, had set, in the church, governments and governors of different orders, of which the apostles were the first[z]; that there were in the church of Thessalonica those who, as the people were exhorted to *know* them, as well as esteem them very highly for their work's sake, could not have been *appointed* by those people themselves to "labor among them, and "be over them in the Lord[a]," and that in all churches there are overseers, whom the people re bound to "obey as those who have the rule over "them, and to submit themselves as to those who "watch for their souls[b]."

Who those rulers were, it is not difficult to dis-

[y] Acts xx. 28.
[z] 1 Cor. xii. 28, and Eph. iv. 11, 12.
[a] 1 Thess. v. 12, 13.
[b] Heb. xii. 17.

cover. We have seen that, in every completely organized church mentioned in the New Testament, there were three orders of men, who, each in his station, labored in the word and doctrine. Of these the lowest order was that of deacons, who appear, from the conduct of Stephen and Philip, to have preached and occasionally administered the sacrament of baptism. Superior to the deacons was the order of presbyters, often called bishops, whose duty it was to feed the flock of Christ, by preaching the word, and administering both the sacraments; and over both these orders we find a president, who is generally called in the New Testament the angel or apostle of the particular church over which he presided; whose pastoral care extended over more than one congregation; to whom alone belonged the privilege of ordaining presbyters and deacons; who was himself always ordained by apostolic hands; and who alone could finally cut off unworthy Christians from the communion of the church.

It has been often said that the apostles neither had nor could have successors, and that therefore the elders, whom all admit to be often called bishops in the New Testament, are the highest order of ministers intended to continue in the church of Christ. This, however, is said, not only without authority, but in direct contradiction to the plainest testimony of Scripture, and the consequent practice of all antiquity. It was to the apostles alone, and not to the multitude of believers, or even to the seventy, that our blessed Lord said, "Go ye and teach all nations." It was to them alone that he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, saying, "whatsoever ye shall "bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and what-"soever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in "heaven:" and the apostles alone were sent by him, as his Father had sent him, with authority to govern that kingdom which he had purchased with his own blood. As he knew all things, he was fully aware that the apostles were mortal, and that, in fact, none

of them would long survive the approaching destruction of Jerusalem. It could not therefore be with themselves personally, but with their successors in office from age to age, that he was to be always even to the end of the world. The church, which he every where calls his kingdom, and which he declared to Pilate was not to be of this world, was founded by himself, and built by his apostles acting under his authority; and its privileges, whatever they may be, are derived wholly from him. No man could be admitted into the church, or cast out of it, but by the authority which he conferred on the apostles for these purposes; and therefore, if they were to have no successors, the church must have been swept from the face of the earth, almost as soon as that ritual service, which was established among the Jews, merely as preparatory to it. After the death of St. John, no man could either have been received into the church, or cast out of it; and the church itself must have perished with that generation. Yet Christ himself solemnly promised, that, "against the church to be built on the faith "confessed by St. Peter, the gates of hell—πύλαι "ἅδου—the gates of *death*, or of the *receptacle* of "the dead—should never prevail;" for he well knew, that the perpetuity of the church is necessary to the perpetuity of the faith.

There are indeed men of some learning, who seem to think otherwise; who profess great regard for the doctrines and morality of the Gospel; but who raise hideous outcries against every claim to any other authority in the church of Christ, than what is exercised in literary clubs, or philosophical societies. But what must have been the consequence to the faith, if, on the death of the apostles and other inspired preachers of the Gospel, all ecclesiastical authority had ceased, or devolved on the multitude at large? With the Old and New Testaments in their hands, could the rabble have maintained the purity of the faith? Could *they* have discovered, even from

those writings, the consequences of the first transgression; the necessity of a redeemer to fallen man; or the nature and extent of the redemption wrought for him? Could they have discovered the necessity of divine aid to enable us to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, or have guarded that doctrine, supposing it discovered, from the opposite and dangerous extremes, to which it is too often carried even by learned ministers of the church? Could such men have preserved in purity the doctrine of one God in three persons; or would they not rather have immediately relapsed into the polytheism and idolatry, with which, as they had themselves but lately emerged from it, they were still surrounded? Would they have long maintained the resurrection of the dead, and a general judgement, against the sophisms of those philosophers, who considered the body as the prison of the soul, who thought a resurrection of the dead impossible even to omnipotence, and who taught, either that the gods could not be offended with men, or that the human soul is no subject either of reward or of punishment; being in fact a portion of το ἓν, or the soul of the world, in which it was finally to be re-absorbed.

Even the morality of the Gospel, so justly admired, would, if left to the guardianship of the people at large, have been as liable to corruption as its peculiar doctrines. From the epistles of St. Paul, as well as from the philosophers, satirists, and profane historians of the age, it appears, that the morals of the heathen world, at the period when the Gospel was first preached to all nations, were sunk to a state of the lowest depravity; that the sensual appetites of our nature were indulged to the utmost excess; that some of those, who were converted to the faith, had themselves, in their unregenerated state, given way to every inordinate affection; and that vices, not even to be named among Christians, were countenanced by the teaching, if not the prac-

tice, even of some of the philosophers. Had the multitude been left, each to interpret the Scriptures for himself; had they been left, without control, to choose their own teachers and governors; had the power of the *keys*, or the supreme authority in the church, been committed to them, is it not probable—is it not, indeed, morally certain, that they would soon have relapsed into their former courses, "as "the dog turns to his vomit again, and the sow "that is washed to her wallowing in the mire?"

Although all the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, which are essential to salvation, are easily understood by candor, combined with attention, yet some of them, such as St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith for instance, are very liable to be misapprehended, where either candor or attention is wanting. But candor and attention are not to be looked for in ignorant and illiterate men, when they are under the dominion of corrupt habits, or are impelled by the strongest propensities of our animal nature; and therefore such men, and the teachers chosen by such men, may be expected to interpret that doctrine so as to make it encourage their "con-"tinuance in sin that grace may abound," and enable them to reconcile their impure practices with their profession of Christianity. This is not a mere hypothesis formed for the sake of argument. It is a fact well known to ecclesiastical historians, and occasionally pointed out by our author, that some of the ancient sects, who renounced the communion of the regular church, taught that Christ hath set men free, not only from the ritual law of Moses, but even from the obligations of morality; and there is reason to suspect that some of the mob-commissioned teachers of the present age, acquire their popularity by the same execrable doctrine.

All this was well known to Christ, who therefore established a society or church in the world, to be "the pillar and ground of his truth[c]," and the guardian

[c] 1 Tim. iii. 15.

of the morals of his disciples. To that society are confined all the privileges of the Gospel [d]; men are to be admitted into it only by baptism [e]; he who, when the Gospel has been fully preached to him, refuses to be baptized, has no claim, by the Christian covenant, to salvation [f]; and he who submits not to the discipline of the church, is in the state of a heathen man or a publican [g]. But we have seen that the apostles alone had received authority to admit into the church, or cast out of it; and that therefore the apostolical order must be continued by succession from those, who were originally raised to that order by the divine head of the church, even to the end of the world. Accordingly St. Paul speaks of apostles ordained by men [h] in his time, of whom Epaphroditus appears to have been one, as Barnabas certainly was another, and warns the Corinthians against false apostles [i]; whilst our blessed Lord, by the pen of St. John, makes express mention of some, who "said "they were apostles, and were not, but were found "liars [k]." Nothing of all this could have happened, if it had been understood, that the primary apostles were to have no successors; for the twelve with St. Paul were all, except St. John, dead some time before the false apostles were detected by the angel of the church of Ephesus; and, had they been alive, they must have been too well known for the most impudent liars then existing, to personate them in a church which had been founded by St. Paul, and so lately governed by his son Timothy.

The case appears to have been as Theodoret and others expressly represent it—"That those now "called bishops were anciently called apostles; but "in process of time the name of apostle was left to "them who were truly apostles (viz. the twelve and "St. Paul); and the name of bishop was restrained

[d] Acts ii. 47. Luke xviii. 18.
[e] St. Matth. xxviii. 19.
[f] St. Mark xvi. 16.
[g] St. Matth. xviii. 17, 18.
[h] Gal. i. 1.
[i] 2 Cor. xi. 13.
[k] Rev. ii. 2.

"to those who were anciently called apostles. Thus "Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippians, "Titus of the Cretans, and Timothy of the Asi-"atics[l]." This change of the denomination of the highest order of ecclesiastics, from apostle to bishop, seems to have been made about the beginning of the second century, soon after the death of St. John, and probably gave occasion to Ignatius to insist so much on the obedience due to the bishops, lest the churches, to which his epistles were addressed, should imagine that the authority of their chief pastors had been diminished by the change of their designation. That change, however, appears not to have been strictly attended to, for several centuries, by those who had occasion to write of the immediate successors of the apostles in particular churches; for Clement, bishop of Rome, is by Clement of Alexandria called[m] Αποστολος Κλημης, and Ignatius, one of the first bishops of Antioch, is by Chrysostom[n] styled ἀπόστολος και ἐπισκοπος.

Thus then it appears that the constitution of the church, in the first century, was episcopal in the diocesan sense of that word; that the bishop was the chief pastor of a greater or less number of congregations, according to the extent of his diocese; that though both presbyters and deacons preached and administered the sacrament of baptism, and the former the Lord's supper, they could perform no ecclesiastical office, but by authority derived from

[l] Τους δε νυν καλουμενους ἐπισκοπους ἀποστολους ωνομαζον, τον δε χρονον προιοντος το μεν της ἀποστολης ὀνομα τοις ἀληθως ἀποστολοις κατελιπον· την δε της ἐπισκοπης προσηγοριαν τοις παλαι καλουμενοις ἀποστολοις ἐπεθεσαν, &c. Theod. in Tim. cap. 3. He repeats the same thing, Com. in Phil. i. 1, and ii. 25. The author under the name of Ambrose, generally believed to be Hilary the deacon, asserts that all bishops were at first called apostles, and that it was to distinguish himself from such apostles, that St. Paul called himself an "apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father." Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv. and in Gal. i. 1.

[m] Strom. lib. 4. [n] Encom. Ign.

the bishop°; that the people had no such authority in the church, as Dr. Mosheim supposes; and that neither the presbyters nor people, nor both united, could excommunicate any person, or cast him entirely out of the church, but by the sentence of the bishop. It does not however appear that for several centuries a bishop's diocese, or the tract of country over which his pastoral care extended, was every where divided into what we now call *parishes*, each with its resident pastor. On the contrary, this division became not general before the fifth century, and seems not to have been made in England previous to the seventh. It is indeed hardly supposable that in the first century the Christians had any buildings wholly set apart for the service of the church. During that period, the probability is that the bishop, with one or two inferior clergymen to assist him, convened part of his flock in his own or some other house; that the presbyters were sent by him to other private houses, where, in different divisions, the remainder of the flock assembled themselves together, for the breaking of bread and for prayer; and it is certain, that, when the presbyters returned to their bishops, they delivered, each into the common stock of the church, the oblations which had been made by their respective congregations. When the number of Christians every where increased, presbyters appear indeed, even during the æra of persecution, to have been stationed in a suburb, or in the country-region of the bishop's diocese; but even then the oblations of the people were all delivered into the common stock of the mother-church, and there distributed into shares, for the maintenance of the bishop, for the support of the clergy under him, for assisting the poor and strangers, and for purchasing whatever was necessary for the public service of the church. After the empire became

° Μηδεὶς χωρὶς του ἐπισκόπου τὶ πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς την ἐκκλησίαν.....οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὐτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὃ ἀν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἐνάρεστον. Ignatii Epist. ad Smyrnæos, cap. 8.

Christian, what we now call parish churches were built, and endowed, sometimes by the public, and more frequently by opulent individuals; and hence the origin of patronage, or the right granted to individuals, to present their own clerks to the churches which they had endowed. This practice seems to have become general about the year 500, as there are two laws by Justinian of that date, authorising and confirming it; but even then no clerk could be presented without the concurrence of the bishop under whom he was to minister, nor be supported by any patron against the censures of his diocesan, when so unhappy as to have incurred them.

In the first and second centuries there seems to have been a perfect equality of rank among the several bishops of the church, he presiding in provincial synods, in whose diocese the synod was holden. Thus, though St. Peter certainly took place of St. James in the college of the Apostles, St. James appears to have presided in the first council, because it took place in Jerusalem, of which he was acknowleged to be the bishop. This perfect equality, however, was gradually done away; for, by the middle of the third century, it is evident that, without acknowleging any superiority of order, the bishops of every province paid a particular respect to the bishop of the chief city; and hence the origin of metropolitans and patriarchs. To this deviation from primitive practice several things contributed. In the chief city, it must have been the practice of the church, from the beginning, to place as bishop a man of approved talents, and piety, and virtue; and even when the clergy subsisted on the voluntary oblations of the faithful, the bishops of the larger cities must have been more opulent than those of the smaller; and in every age of the church—the purest as well as the most corrupt—opulence has always commanded a degree of respect, especially when in the possession of talents and virtue.

There was, however, another and a better motive

than this, for giving precedency to the bishops of the chief cities. The whole Christian church is, or ought to be, one society or kingdom, united under its divine head, by the profession of the same faith, by the administration of the same sacraments, and by the same government and discipline. In the apostolic age, whoever had the misfortune to be expelled from one particular church, found himself expelled from all particular churches, or, in other words, excommunicated by the church universal; and, by the authority of Christ himself, was reduced to the state of a heathen man or a publican. Hence St. Cyprian says [p]—"Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in "solidum pars tenetur:"—and elsewhere, "Idcirco "copiosum est sacerdotium concordiæ mutuæ glutino "atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut siquis ex "collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi "lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, "et, quasi pastores utiles et misericordes, oves Do-"minicas in gregem colligant [q]." This is indeed the doctrine of a much greater man than Cyprian. It is the doctrine of the illustrious apostle of the Gentiles, who compares the unity of the church, and the due subordination of its several members, to the unity of the human body, and the adaptation of its members to their respective uses [r]; beseeching Christians "to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, "because, among them, there is but one body and "one spirit, even as they are called in one hope of "their calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one "God and Father of all, who is above all, and "through all, and in them all [s]." It is the doctrine of a still greater—an infinitely greater personage than St. Paul—even of our Lord himself, who declared, that the whole Christian world was to be "one fold under him the one shepherd," and who,

[p] De Unitate Ecclesiæ.
[q] Epist. 67. ed. Pamel. 68. ed. Fell.
[r] Rom. xii. 4, 5. 1 Cor. xii. 12, 31.
[s] Ephesians iv. 3, 17.

when praying for his immediate followers, added— "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also "who shall believe in me through their word, that "they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, "and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; "that the world may believe that thou hast sent "me[t]."

That this catholic unity might be preserved entire, every bishop elect was obliged, before his ordination, to make a declaration of his faith to the bishops who ordained him, and, immediately after his ordination, to send, by the hands of some confidential clergymen, circular or *encyclical* letters, as they were called, to foreign churches, declaratory of his faith, announcing his promotion to such a see, and professing his communion with the churches to which the letters were sent. If his faith was deemed catholic, and nothing irregular appeared to have taken place in the various steps of his promotion, answers were immediately returned to his letters, approving what had been done, and acknowleging him as a bishop of the catholic church; but, if doubts were excited in the minds of those to whom the encyclical letters were addressed, no answer was returned until proper enquiries were made, and all doubts respecting the faith of the lately consecrated bishop, or the regularity of his promotion, were completely removed. It was thus that Christian communion was maintained between the remotest churches. But had the bishops been, in the modern sense of the word, *parochial*, and therefore as numerous as the various congregations of Christians, which assembled under separate roofs for the celebration of the mysteries of their religion, it is obvious that this salutary process could not have been carried on; the doctrines taught in distant churches must have been unknown to each other; and catholic unity could have been nothing but a name. Even among diocesan bishops, when all of

[t] St. John x. 16. xvii. 20, 21.

equal rank, such a correspondence must have become so difficult and tedious, after churches were planted in every corner of the empire, that the authors of heresies might, as Cyprian expresses it, have divided and laid waste the flock of Christ, before the bishops at a distance could have stepped in to its assistance; but, by the institution of metropolitans and patriarchs, it became easy and expeditious, as the bishops corresponded with their own metropolitans, the metropolitans with their respective patriarchs, and the patriarchs with each other.

After the conversion of Constantine, the distinctions of rank which had thus been introduced among the bishops of the church, were confirmed by the council of Nice, and modeled according to the precedency that was allowed among the civil provinces into which the empire was divided; but, if such an arrangement was attended by some advantages, it was productive likewise of many evils. It was the parent of those fierce contentions between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople for precedency, which disgraced the character of both as the ministers of the meek and lowly Jesus; and, at last, it furnished the former of those prelates with the means of erecting that tyranny, which he so long exercised over the whole western church.

About the æra of the council of Nice, if not at an earlier period, distinctions, unknown in the apostolic age, were introduced likewise among the inferior clergy of the same order. When parochial churches were endowed and provided each with a resident pastor, it was judged expedient to give to the bishop a permanent council, which might supply the place of those presbyters who had hitherto lived with him, but were now removed to their respective cures; and from this appointment may be dated the origin of deans and chapters.

At a very early period there seems to have been, in every church where there were many deacons, one who by the bishop's authority had precedence of the

rest; but there is no good evidence that visiting presbyters were any where appointed to offices similar to those of our archdeacons, until the abolition of the order of *chorepiscopi*. That the appointment took place then, is rendered unquestionable by the 57th canon of the council of Laodicea, which substitutes visiting presbyters for those village-bishops, of whom it decreed that no more were to be ordained.

Whether the church acted prudently in all these apparent deviations from primitive simplicity, is a question which we are not called upon to answer; but it is certain that in none of them did she exceed that authority, with which, as an independent society to be spread over the whole world, she must have been invested by her divine lawgiver, to adapt her constitution, as much as possible, to the circumstances in which she might be placed. To this authority St. Paul repeatedly alludes; and if her metropolitans and patriarchs, her deans and chapters, her visiting presbyters and archdeacons, &c., contributed in any degree to the maintenance of order and decency, she had an unquestionable right to appoint them. Her patriarchs and metropolitans, however dignified with titles and outward splendor, derived from Christ, by apostolical succession, no authority which was not equally possessed by every other bishop; the visiting presbyters, though the bishop devolved on them such parts of his authority as presbyters were capable of exercising, were still nothing more than mere presbyters; and an archdeacon, although he had precedence among his brethren, could not administer the Lord's supper, and was therefore inferior to the lowest presbyter in the church.

The authority of the church to decree rites or ceremonies and to make such regulations in the mode of administering her discipline, as are best adapted to produce the effects for which her discipline itself was instituted, are facts which cannot indeed be questioned. When incorporated with the state, her governors may certainly be armed by the civil magis-

trate with civil rank and civil power; but she has no authority to depart in a single article from the faith which was once delivered to the saints, or to surrender to any man that authority which her bishops derive by succession from the apostles. The church is a kingdom not of this world; and therefore, as she derives not her inherent authority from the potentates of this world, to the potentates of this world she cannot resign that authority. Wherever the faith is maintained in purity, and the episcopal succession preserved, there is a true church, or the elements of a true church: "quando," to use the words of Cyprian, "Ecclesia in episcopo, et clero, et in omnibus stantibus, sit constituta[u];" and to the efficacious administration of the word and sacraments, it is of no consequence whether the bishop of such a church be a prince, a peer, or an obscure pastor; for, as another ancient writer[w] observes, "potestas "peccatorum remittendorum apostolis data est, et "ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et "episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicariâ successerunt."

[u] Epist. 27, edit. Pamel.—33, edit. Fell.
[w] Firmilian. inter Cyp. Epistolas, Ep. 75. edit. Pamelii et Fell.

THE SECOND APPENDIX,

BY DR. MACLAINE;

Concerning the Spirit and Conduct of the first Reformers, and the Charge of Enthusiasm (*i. e.* Fanaticism) that has been brought against them by a celebrated Author.

THE candor and impartiality, with which Dr. Mosheim represents the transactions of those who were agents and instruments in bringing about the Reformation, are highly laudable. He acknowleges that imprudence, passion, and even a low self-interest, mingled sometimes their rash proceedings and ignoble motives in this excellent cause; and, in the very nature of things, it could not be otherwise. It is one of the inevitable consequences of the subordination and connexions of civil society, that many improper instruments and agents are set to work in all great and important revolutions, whether of a religious or political nature. When great men appear in these revolutions, they draw after them their dependents; and the unhappy effects of a party spirit are unavoidably displayed in the best cause. The subjects follow their prince; the multitude adopt the system of their leaders, without entering into its true spirit, or being judiciously attentive to the proper methods of promoting it; and thus irregular proceedings are employed in the maintenance of the truth. Thus it happened in the important revolution that delivered a great part of Europe from the ignominious yoke of the Roman pontiff. The sovereigns, the ecclesiastics, the men of weight, piety, and learning, who arose to assert the rights of human nature, the cause of genuine Christianity, and the exercise of religious liberty, came forth into the field of controversy with a multitude of dependents, admirers, and

friends, whose motives and conduct cannot be entirely justified. Besides, when the eyes of whole nations were opened upon the iniquitous absurdities of popery, and upon the tyranny and insolence of the Roman pontiffs, it was scarcely possible to set bounds to the indignation of an incensed and tumultuous multitude, who are naturally prone to extremes, generally pass from blind submission to lawless ferocity, and too rarely distinguish between the use and abuse of their undoubted rights. In a word, many things, which appear to us extremely irregular in the conduct and measures of some of the instruments of our happy reformation, will be entitled to a certain degree of indulgence, if the spirit of the times, the situation of the contending parties, the barbarous provocations of popery, and the infirmities of human nature, be duly and attentively considered.

The question here is, what was the spirit which animated the first and principal reformers, who arose in times of darkness and despair to deliver oppressed kingdoms from the dominion of Rome, and upon what principles a Luther, a Zuingle, a Calvin, a Melanchthon, a Bucer, &c. embarked in the arduous cause of the Reformation? This question, indeed, is not at all necessary to the defence of the Reformation, which rests upon the strong foundations of Scripture and reason, and whose excellence is absolutely independent of the virtues of those who took the lead in promoting it. Bad men may be, and often are, embarked in the best causes, as such causes afford the most specious mask to cover mercenary views, or to disguise ambitious purposes. But until the more than Jesuitical and disingenuous Philips resumed the trumpet of calumny [a], even the voice of popery had ceased to attack the moral characters of the leading reformers.

[a] See the various answers that were made to this biographer by the ingenious Mr. Pye, the learned Dr. Neve, and other commendable writers who have appeared in this controversy.

These eminent men were indeed attacked from another quarter, and by a much more respectable writer. The truly ingenious Mr. Hume, so justly celebrated as one of the first favorites of the historic muse, has, in his history of England, and more especially in the history of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, represented the character and temper of the first reformers in a point of view, which undoubtedly shews, that he had not considered them with the close and impartial attention that ought always to precede personal reflexions. He has laid it down as a principle, that *superstition* and *enthusiasm* are two species of religion that stand in diametrical opposition to each other; and seems to establish it as a fact, that the former is the genius of popery, and the latter the characteristic of the Reformation. Both the principle and its application must appear extremely singular; and three sorts of persons must be more especially surprised at it.

In the first place, persons of a philosophical turn, who are accustomed to study human nature, and to describe with precision both its regular and eccentric movements, must be surprised to see superstition and fanaticism [b] represented as opposite and jarring qualities. They have been often seen together, holding with each other a most friendly correspondence; and indeed if we consider their nature and their essential characters, their union will appear, not only possible, but in some cases natural, if not necessary. *Superstition*, which consists in false and abject notions of the Deity, in the gloomy and groundless fears of invisible beings, and in the absurd rites, that these notions and these fears naturally produce, is certainly

[b] I use the word *fanaticism* here, instead of *enthusiasm*, to prevent all ambiguity; because, as shall be shewn presently, Mr. Hume takes *enthusiasm* in its worse sense when he applies it to the reformers; and in that sense it is not only equivalent to, but is perfectly synonymous with, fanaticism. Besides, the latter term is used indiscriminately with enthusiasm, by this celebrated historian, in characterising the Reformation.

the root of various branches of fanaticism. For what is *fanaticism,* but the visions, illuminations, impulses, and dreams of an over-heated fancy, converted into rules of faith, hope, worship, and practice? This fanaticism, as it springs up in a melancholy or a cheerful complexion, assumes a variety of aspects, and its morose and gloomy forms are certainly most congenial with superstition, in its proper sense. It was probably this consideration that led the author of the article *Fanaticism,* in the famous Dictionnaire Encyclopedique, to define it[c] as "a blind and passionate zeal, which arises from superstitious opinions, and leads its votaries to commit ridiculous, unjust, and cruel actions, not only without shame, but even with certain internal feelings of joy and comfort;" from which the author concludes, that "fanaticism is "really nothing more than superstition set in mo-"tion." This definition unites perhaps too closely these two kinds of false religion, whose enormities have furnished very ill-grounded pretexts for discrediting and misrepresenting the true. It is, however, a testimony from one of the pretended oracles of modern philosophy, in favor of the compatibility of fanaticism with superstition. These two principles are evidently distinct; because superstition is, generally speaking, the effect of ignorance, or of a judgement perverted by a sour and splenetic temper; whereas fanaticism is the offspring of an inflamed imagination, and may exist where there is no superstition, *i. e.* where no false or gloomy notions of the divinity are entertained. But, though distinct, they are not opposite principles; on the contrary, they lend, on many occasions, some strength and assistance to each other.

[c] The words of the original are, "Le fanatisme est un zele aveugle et passionné, qui nait des opinions superstitieuses, et fait commettre des actions ridicules, injustes et cruelles, non seulement sans honte, mais avec une sorte de joye et de consolation. Le fanatisme donc n'est que la superstition mise en mouvement."

If persons accustomed to philosophical precision will not relish the maxim of the celebrated writer which I have been now considering, so neither, in the second place, can those who are versed in ecclesiastical history look upon superstition as a more predominant characteristic of popery than fanaticism; and yet this is a leading idea, which is not only visible in many parts of this author's excellent History, but appears to be the basis of all the reflexions he employs, and of all the epithets he uses, in his speculations upon the Romish religion.

And nevertheless it is manifest, that the multitudes of fanatics, which arose in the church of Rome before the Reformation, are truly innumerable; and the operations of fanaticism in that church were, at least, as visible and frequent, as the restless workings of superstition; they went, in short, hand in hand, and united their visions and their terrors in the support of the papacy. It is, more especially, well known, that the greatest part of the monastic establishments (that alternately insulted the benignity of Providence by their austerities, and abused it by their licentious luxury), were originally founded in consequence of pretended illuminations, miraculous dreams, and other wild delusions of an over-heated fancy. Whenever a new doctrine was to be established, that could augment the authority of the pope, or fill the coffers of the clergy; whenever a new convent was to be erected, there was always a vision or a miracle ready to facilitate the business; nor must it be imagined, that forgery and imposture were the only agents in this matter;—by no means;—imposture there was; and it was frequently employed: but impostors made use of fanatics; and in return fanatics found impostors, who spread abroad their fame, and turned their visions to profit. Were I to recount with the utmost simplicity, without the smallest addition of ludicrous embellishment, the ecstasies, visions, seraphic amours, celestial apparitions, that are said to have shed such an odor of

sanctity upon the male and female saints of the Romish church; were I to pass in review the famous conformities of St. Francis, the illuminations of St. Ignatius, and the enormous cloud of fanatical witnesses that have dishonored humanity in bearing testimony to popery, this dissertation would become a voluminous history. Let the reader cast an eye upon Dr. Mosheim's account of those ages which more immediately preceded the Reformation, and he will see what a number of sects, *purely fanatical,* arose in the bosom of the Romish church.

But this is not all—for it must be carefully observed, that even those extravagant fanatics, who produced such disorders in Germany about the commencement of the Reformation, were nursed in the bosom of popery, were professed papists before they adopted the cause of Luther; and that many of them even passed directly from popery to fanaticism, without even entering into the outward profession of Lutheranism. It is also to be observed, that beside the fanatics, who exposed themselves to the contempt of the wise upon the public theatre of popery, Seckendorf speaks of a sect that merits this denomination, which had spread in the Netherlands, before Luther raised his voice against popery, and whose members were engaged, by the terror of penal laws, to dissemble their sentiments, and even affected a devout compliance with the ceremonies of the established worship, until religious liberty, introduced by the reformation, encouraged them to pull off the mask, and propagate their opinions, several of which were licentious and profane.

But, in the third place, the friends of the Reformation must naturally be both surprised and displeased to find enthusiasm, or fanaticism, laid down by Mr. Hume, as the character and spirit of its founders and abettors, without any exception or distinction in favor of any one of the reformers. That fanaticism was visible in the conduct and spirit of many who embraced the Reformation, is a fact which I do not

pretend to deny; and it may be wothy of the reader's curiosity to consider, for a moment, how this came to pass. That religious liberty, which the Reformation introduced and granted (in consequence of its essential principles) indiscriminately to all, to the learned and unlearned, rendered this eruption of enthusiasm inevitable. It is one of the imperfections annexed to all human things, that our best blessings have their inconveniences, or, at least, are susceptible of abuse. As liberty is a natural right, but not a discerning principle, it could not open the door to truth without letting error and delusion come with it. If reason came forth with dignity, when delivered from the despotism of authority, and the blind servitude of implicit faith; imagination, also set free, and less able to bear the prosperous change, came forth likewise, but with a different aspect, and exposed to view the reveries which it had been long obliged to conceal.

Thus many fanatical phantoms were exhibited, which neither arose from the spirit of the Reformation, nor from the principles of the reformers, but which had been engendered in the bosom of popery, and which the fostering rays of liberty had disclosed; similar in this, to the enlivening beams of the sun, which fructify indiscriminately the salutary plant in the well-cultivated ground, and the noxious weed in a rank and neglected soil. And as the Reformation had no such miraculous influence (not to speak of the imperfection that attended its infancy, and that has not entirely been removed from its more advanced stages) as to cure human nature of its infirmities and follies, to convert irregular passions into regular principles, or to turn men into angels before the time, it has still left the field open, both for fanaticism and superstition to sow their tares among the good seed; and this will probably be the case until the end of the world. It is here, that we must seek for the true cause of all that condemnable enthusiasm which has dishonored the Christian name,

and often troubled the order of civil society, at different periods since the Reformation; and for which the reformation is no more responsible, than a free government is for the weakness or corruption of those who abuse its lenity and indulgence. The Reformation established the sacred and inalienable right of private judgement; but it could not hinder the private judgement of many from being wild and extravagant.

The Reformation, then, which the multiplied enormities of popery rendered so necessary, must be always distinguished from the abuses that might be, and were often made, of the liberty it introduced. If you ask, indeed, what was the temper or spirit of the first heralds of this happy Reformation, Mr. Hume will tell you, that they were universally inflamed with the highest enthusiasm. This assertion, if taken singly, and not compared with other passages relating to the reformers, might be understood in a sense consistent with truth, and even honorable to the character of these eminent men. For, if by enthusiasm we understand that spirit of ardor, intrepidity, and generous zeal, which leads men to brave the most formidable obstacles and dangers in defence of a cause, whose excellence and importance have made a deep impression upon their minds, the first reformers will be allowed by their warmest friends to have been enthusiasts. This species of enthusiasm is a noble affection, when fitly placed and wisely exerted. It is this generous sensibility, this ardent feeling of the great and excellent, that forms heroes and patriots; and, without it, nothing difficult and arduous, that is attended with danger, or prejudice to our temporal interests, can either be attempted with vigor, or executed with success. If this ingenious writer had even observed, that the ardor of the first reformers was more or less violent, that it was more or less blended with the warmth and vivacity of human passions, candor would be obliged to avow the charge.

But it is not in any of these points of view, that

our eminent historian considers the spirit, temper, and enthusiasm of the first reformers. The enthusiasm he attributes to them is fanaticism in its worst sense. He speaks indeed of the 'inflexible intrepidity, 'with which they braved dangers, torments, and 'even death itself;' but he calls them 'the fanatical 'and enraged reformers;' he represents fanaticism, through the whole course of his history, as the characteristic of the protestant religion and its glorious founders: the terms, 'protestant fanaticism—fanatical 'churches'—are interspersed in various parts of his work; and we never meet with the least appearance of a distinction between the rational and enthusiastic, the wise and indiscreet friends of the Reformation. In short, we find a phraseology constantly employed upon this subject, which discovers an intention to confound protestantism with enthusiasm, and to make *reformers* and *fanatics* synonymous terms. We are told, that, while absurd rites and burthensome superstitions reigned in the Romish church, the reformers were 'thrown, by a spirit of opposition, into an en-'thusiastic strain of devotion;' and, in another place, that the latter 'placed all merit in a mysterious 'species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and 'ecstasy.' It would be endless to quote the passages in which this representation of things is repeated in a great variety of phrases, and artfully insinuated into the mind of the reader, by dexterous strokes of a seducing pencil; which, though scattered here and there, yet gradually unite their influence on the imagination of an uninstructed and unwary reader, and form, imperceptibly, an unfavorable impression of that great event, to which we owe at this day our civil and religious liberty, and our deliverance from a yoke of superstitious and barbarous despotism. Protestants, in all ages and places, are stigmatised by Mr. Hume with very dishonorable titles; and it struck me particularly to see even the generous opposers of the Spanish inquisition in Holland, whose proceedings were so moderate, and whose complaints

were so humble, until the barbarous yoke of superstition and tyranny became intolerable; it struck me, I say, to see these generous patriots branded with the general character of *bigots*. This is certainly a severe appellation; and were it applied with much more equity than it is, I think it would still come with an ill grace from a lover of freedom, from a man who lives and writes with security under the auspicious shade of that very liberty which the Reformation introduced, and for which the Belgic heroes (or *bigots*—if we must call them so) shed their blood. I observe with pain, that the phraseology and mode of expression, employed perpetually by Mr. Hume, on similar occasions, seem to discover a keen dislike of every opposition made to power in favor of the Reformation. Upon the too general principle which this eminent writer has diffused through his history, we shall even be obliged to brand, with the opprobrious mark of fanaticism, those generous friends of civil and religious liberty, who, in the revolution of 1688, opposed the measures of a popish prince and an arbitrary government, and to rank the Burnets, Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, and other immortal ornaments of the protestant name, among the enthusiastic tribe; it is a question, whether even a Boyle, a Newton, or a Locke, will escape a censure which is lavished without mercy and without distinction.—But my present business is with the first reformers, and to them I return.

Those who more especially merit that title were Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Melanchthon, Bucer, Martyr, Bullinger, Beza, Œcolampadius, and others. Now these were *all* men of learning, who came forth into the field of controversy (in which the fate of future ages, with respect to liberty, was to be decided) with a kind of arms that did not at all give them the aspect of persons agitated by the impulse, or seduced by the delusions of fanaticism. They pretended not to be called to the work they undertook by visions, or internal illuminations and impulses;—they never

attempted to work miracles, or pleaded a divine commission;—they taught no new religion, nor laid claim to any extraordinary vocation;—they respected government, practised and taught submission to civil rulers, and desired only the liberty of that conscience which God has made free, and which ceases to be conscience if it be not free. They maintained, that the faith of a Christian was to be determined by the word of God alone; they had recourse to reason and argument, to the rules of sound criticism, and to the authority and light of history. They translated the Scriptures into the popular languages of different countries, and appealed to them as the only test of religious truth. They exhorted Christians to judge for themselves, to search the Scriptures, break asunder the bonds of ignorant prejudice and lawless authority, and assert that liberty of conscience to which they had an inalienable right as reasonable beings. Mr. Hume himself acknowleges, that they offered to submit 'all religious doctrines to private 'judgement, and exhorted every one to examine the 'principles formerly imposed upon him.' In short, it was their great and avowed purpose to oppose the gross corruptions and the spiritual tyranny of Rome [d], of which Mr. Hume himself complains with a just indignation, and which he censures in as keen and vehement terms as those which were used by Luther and Calvin in their warmest moments.

I have already insinuated, and I acknowlege it here again, that the zeal of the reformers was sometimes intemperate; but I cannot think this circumstance sufficient to justify the aspersion of *fanaticism*, which is cast both on the spirit of the Reformation, and the principal agents concerned in it. A man may be over-zealous in the advancement of what he

[d] See the sensible and judicious Letters on Mr. Hume's History of Great Britain, that were published at Edinburgh in 1756, and in which some points, which I have barely mentioned here, are enlarged upon and illustrated, in an ample and satisfactory manner.

supposes to be the true religion, without being entitled to the denomination of a fanatic, unless we depart from the usual sense of this word, which is often enough employed to have acquired, before this time, a determinate signification. The intemperate zeal of the reformers was the result of that ardor, which takes place in all divisions and parties that are founded upon objects of real or supposed importance; and it may be affirmed, that, in such circumstances, the most generous minds, filled with a persuasion of the goodness of their end, and of the uprightness of their intentions, are the most liable to transgress the exact bounds of moderation, and to adopt measures, which, in the calm hour of deliberate reflexion, they themselves would not approve. In all great divisions, the warmth of natural temper,—the provocation of unjust and violent opposition,—a spirit of sympathy, which connects, in some cases, the most dissimilar characters, renders the mild violent, and the phlegmatic warm;—and frequently the pride of conquest, which mingles itself, imperceptibly, with the best principles and the most generous views,—produce or nourish an intemperate zeal; and this zeal is, in some cases, almost inevitable. On the other hand, it may be suspected, that some writers, and Mr. Hume among others, may have given too high colors to their descriptions of this intemperate zeal. There is a passage of Sir Robert Cotton, that has much meaning. "Most men (*says he*) "grew to be frozen in zeal and benumbed, so "that whosoever pretended a little *spark of earnest-* "*ness*, seemed no less than red-fire hot, in compari- "son of the other."

Nothing can be more foreign from my temper and sentiments, than to plead the cause of an excessive zeal; more especially, every kind of zeal that approaches to a spirit of intolerance and persecution ought to be regarded with aversion and horror by all who have at heart the interest of genuine Christianity, and the happiness of civil society. There

may be, nevertheless, cases, in which a zeal (not that breathes a spirit of persecution, but) that mounts to a certain degree of intemperance, may be not only inevitable, but useful; and not only useful but necessary. This assertion I advance almost against my will, because it is susceptible of great and dangerous abuse; the assertion, however, is true, though the cases must be singularly important and desperate to which such zeal may be applied. It has been observed, that the reformation was one of these cases, and, all things attentively considered, the observation appears to be entirely just; and the violence of expression and vehement measures employed by some of the reformers *might have been* (I do not say that they *really were*) as much the effect of provident reflexion, as of natural fervor and resentment. To a calculating head, which considered closely, in those times of corruption and darkness, the strength of the court of Rome, the luxury and despotism of the pontiffs, the ignorance and licentiousness of the clergy, the superstition and stupidity of the people; in a word, the deep root which the papacy had gained through all these circumstances combined,—what was the first thought that must naturally have occurred? No doubt, it was this—the improbability that cool philosophy, dispassionate reason, and affectionate remonstrances, would ever triumph over these multiplied and various supports of popery. And, if a calculating head must have judged in this manner, a generous heart, which considered the blessings that must arise upon mankind from religious liberty and a reformation of the church, would naturally be excited to apply even a violent remedy, if that were *necessary*, to remove such a desperate and horrible disease. It would really seem that Luther acted on such a view of things. He began mildly, and did not employ the fire of his zeal, before he saw that it was essential to the success of his cause. Whoever looks into Dr. Mosheim's history, or any other impartial account of the sixteenth cen-

tury, will find, that Luther's opposition to the infamous traffic of indulgences, was carried on at first in the most submissive strain, by humble remonstrances addressed to the pope, and the most eminent prelates of the church. These remonstrances were answered not only by the despotic voice of authority, but also by opprobrious invectives, perfidious plots against his person, and the terror of penal laws. Even under these he maintained his tranquillity; and his conduct at the famous diet of Worms, though resolute and steady, was nevertheless both respectful and modest. But, when all moderate measures proved ineffectual, then, indeed, he acted with redoubled vigor, and added a new degree of warmth and impetuosity to his zeal; and (I repeat it) reflexion might have dictated those animated proceedings, which were owing, perhaps, merely to his resentment, and the natural warmth of his temper inflamed by opposition. Certain it is at least, that neither the elegant satires of Erasmus (had he even been a friend to the cause of liberty), nor the timid remonstrances of the gentle Melanchthon (who was really such), would ever have been sufficient to bring about a reformation of the church. The former made many *laugh*, the latter made some *reason;* but neither of the two could make them *act*, or set them in motion. At such a crisis, bold speech and ardent resolution were necessary to produce that happy change in the face of religion, which has crowned with inestimable blessings one part of Europe, and has been productive of many advantages even to the other, which censures it.

As to Calvin, every one, who has any acquaintance with history, knows how he set out in promoting the Reformation. It was by a work composed with a classic elegance of style, and which, though tinctured with the scholastic theology of the times, breathes an uncommon spirit of good sense and moderation. This work was the Institutes of the Christian religion, in which the learned writer shews,

that the doctrines of the reformers were founded in Scripture and reason; and one of the designs of this book was to shew, that the reformers ought not to be confounded with certain fanatics, who, about the time of the Reformation, sprang from the bosom of the church of Rome, and excited tumults and commotions in several places. The French monarch (Francis I.) to cover with a specious pretext his barbarous persecution of the friends of the Reformation, and to prevent the resentment of the protestants in Germany, with whom it was his interest to be on good terms, alleged that his severity fell *only* upon a sect of enthusiasts, who, under the title of Anabaptists, substituted their visions in the place of the doctrines and declarations of the Scriptures. To vindicate the reformers from this reproach, Calvin wrote the book now under consideration: and though the theology that reigns in it be chargeable with some defects, yet it is as remote from the spirit and complexion of fanaticism, as any thing can be. Nor indeed is this spirit visible in any of the writings of Calvin that I have perused. His commentary upon the Old and New Testament is a production that will always be esteemed, on account of its elegant simplicity, and the evident marks it bears of an unprejudiced and impartial enquiry into the plain sense of the sacred writings, and of sagacity and penetration in the investigation of it.

If we were to pass in review the writings of the other eminent reformers, whose names have been already mentioned, we should find abundant matter to justify them in the same respect. They were men of letters, and some of them were even men of taste for the age in which they lived; they cultivated the study of languages, history, and criticism, and applied themselves with indefatigable industry to these studies, which, of all others, are the least adapted to excite or nourish a spirit of fanaticism. They had, indeed, their errors and prejudices; nor perhaps were they few in number; but who is free

from the same charge? We have ours too, though they may turn on a different set of objects. Their theology savored somewhat of the pedantry and jargon of the schools;—how could it be otherwise, considering the dismal state of philosophy at that period? The advantages we enjoy above them, give them, at least, a title to our candor and indulgence; perhaps to our gratitude, as the instruments who prepared the way through which these advantages have been conveyed to us. To conclude, let us regret their infirmities; let us reject their errors; let us even condemn any instances of ill-judged severity and violence with which they may have been chargeable; but let us never forget, that, through perils and obstacles almost insurmountable, they opened the path to that religious liberty, which we cannot too highly esteem, nor be too careful to improve to rational and worthy purposes.

THE THIRD APPENDIX.

Some Observations relative to the present State of the reformed Religion, and the Influence of Improvements in Philosophy and Science on its Propagation and Advancement; occasioned by some Passages in the Preface to a Book, entitled, THE CONFESSIONAL.

IN one of the notes[a], which I added to those of Dr. Mosheim, in my translation of his Ecclesiastical History, I observed, that 'the reformed churches 'were never at such a distance from the spirit and 'doctrine of the church of Rome as they are at this 'day;—that the improvements in science, that cha-'racterise the last and the present age, seem to render 'a relapse into Romish superstition morally impossi-'ble in those who have been once delivered from its 'baneful influence: and that, if the dawn of science 'and philosophy toward the end of the sixteenth, and 'the commencement of the seventeenth centuries, 'was favorable to the cause of the Reformation, their 'progress, which has a kind of influence even upon 'the multitude, must confirm us in the principles that 'occasioned our separation from the church of Rome.'

This reasoning did not appear conclusive to the ingenious author of the *Confessional*, who has accordingly made some critical reflexions upon it in the preface to that work. However, upon an impartial view of these reflexions, I find that this author's excessive apprehensions of the progress of popery have had an undue influence on his method of reasoning on this subject. He supposes that the improvements in science and philosophy, in some popish countries, have been as considerable as in any reformed

[a] This note was occasioned by my mistaking, in a moment of inadvertency, the true sense of the passage to which it relates. The mistake has since been corrected.

country; and afterwards asks, 'What intelligence have 'we from these popish countries of a proportionable 'progress of religious reformation? Have we no rea- 'son to suspect (adds he) that, if an accurate account 'were to be taken, the balance, in point of conver- 'sions, in the *most improved* of these countries, 'would be greatly against the reformed religion?'

I cannot see how these observations, or rather conjectures, even were they founded in truth and fact, tend to prove my reasoning inconclusive. I observed that the progress of science was adapted to confirm *us* (namely, *Protestants*) in the belief and profession of the reformed religion; and I had here in view, as every one may see, those countries in which the Protestant religion is established; and this author answers me by observing, that the progress of reformation, in some popish countries, is not proportionable to the progress of science and philosophy in these countries. This, surely, is no answer at all, since there are in popish countries accidental circumstances, that counteract, in favor of popery, the influence of those improvements in science, which are in direct opposition to its propagation and advancement; circumstances that I shall consider presently, and which do not exist in protestant states. This subject is interesting; and I therefore presume, that some farther thoughts upon it will not be disagreeable to the candid reader.

The sagacious author of the Confessional cannot, I think, seriously call in question the *natural* tendency of improvements in learning and science to strengthen and confirm the cause of the Reformation; for, as the foundations of popery are a blind submission to an usurped authority over the understandings and consciences of men, and an implicit credulity that adopts, without examination, the miracles and visions that derive their existence from the crazy brains of fanatics, or the lucrative artifice of impostors, so it is unquestionably evident, that the progress of sound philosophy, and the spirit of free inquiry it

produces, strike directly at these foundations. I say the progress of sound philosophy, that the most inattentive reader may not be tempted to imagine (as the author of the Confessional has been informed), that 'improvements in philosophy have made many 'sceptics in all churches reformed and unreformed.' For I am persuaded, that, as true Christianity can never lead to superstition, so true philosophy will never be a guide to infidelity and scepticism. We must not be deceived by the name of philosophers, which some poets and wits have assumed in our days, particularly upon the continent, and which many lavish upon certain subtile refiners in dialectics, who bear a much greater resemblance to overweening sophists, than to real sages. We must not be so far lost to all power of distinguishing, as to confound, in one common mass, the philosophy of a Bacon, a Newton, a Boyle, and a Nieuwentyt, with the incoherent views and rhetorical rants of a Bolingbroke, or the flimsy sophistry of a Voltaire; and though candor must acknowlege, that some men of true learning have been so unhappy as to fall into infidelity, and charity must weep to see a Hume and a d'Alembert joining a set of men who are unworthy of their society, and covering a dark and uncomfortable system with the lustre of their superior talents, yet equity itself may safely affirm, that neither their science nor their genius are the causes of their scepticism.

But if the progress of science and free inquiry have a natural tendency to destroy the foundations of popery, how comes it to pass, that, in popish countries, the progress of religious reform bears no proportion to the progress of science? and how can we account for the ground which popery (if the apprehensions of the author of the Confessional are well founded) gains even in England?

Before I answer the first of these questions, it may be proper to consider the matter of fact, and to examine, for a moment, the state of science and philoso-

phy in popish countries: this examination, if I mistake not, will confirm the theory I have laid down with respect to the influence of philosophical improvement upon true religion. Let us then turn our view first to one of the most considerable countries in Europe, I mean Germany; and here we shall be struck with this undoubted fact, that it is in the Protestant part of this vast region only, that the improvements of science and philosophy appear, while the barbarism of the fifteenth century reigns, as yet, in those districts of the empire which profess the Romish religion. The celebrated M. d'Alembert, in his treatise, entitled, 'de l'Abus de la Critique en 'Matiere de Religion,' makes the following remarkable observation on this head: "We must acknow-"lege, though with sorrow, the present superiority of "the Protestant universities in Germany over those "of the Romish persuasion. This superiority is so "striking, that foreigners who travel through the "empire, and pass from a Romish college to a Pro-"testant university, even in the same neighbourhood, "are induced to think that they have ridden, in an "hour, four hundred leagues, or lived, in that short "space of time, four hundred years; that they have "passed from Salamanca to Cambridge, or from the "times of Scotus to those of Newton." Will it be believed (says the same author), "in succeeding "ages, that, in the year 1750, a book was published "in one of the principal cities of Europe (Vienna) "with the following title: 'Systema Aristotelicum "'de Formis substantialibus et Accidentibus absolutis, "*i.e.* 'The Aristotelian System concerning substantial "'Forms and absolute Accidents?' Will it not rather "be supposed, that this date is an error of the press, "and that 1550 is the true reading?" See D'Alembert's Melanges de Literature, d'Histoire, et de Philosophie, vol. iv. p. 376.—This fact seems evidently to shew the connexion that subsists between improvements in science, and the free spirit of the reformed religion. The state of letters and philoso-

phy in Italy and Spain, where canon-law, monkish literature, and scholastic metaphysics, have reigned during such a long course of ages, exhibits the same gloomy spectacle. Some rays of philosophical light are now breaking through the cloud in Italy; Boscovich, and some geniuses of the same stamp, have dared to hold up the lamp of science, without feeling the rigor of the Inquisition, or meeting with the fate of Galileo. If this dawning revolution be brought to any degree of perfection, it may, in due time, produce effects that at present we have little hope of.

France, indeed, seems to be the country which the author of the Confessional has principally in view, when he speaks of a considerable progress in philosophy in popish states, that has not been attended with a proportionable influence on the reformation of religion. He even imagines that, 'if an account 'were to be taken, the balance, in point of conver-'sions, in this most improved of the popish countries, 'would be greatly against the reformed religion.' The reader will perceive, that I might grant this, without giving up any thing that I maintained in the note which this judicious author censures. I shall, however, examine this notion, that we may see whether it is to be adopted without restriction; and perhaps it may appear, that the improvements in philosophy have had more influence on the spirit of religion in France than this author is willing to allow.

And here I observe, in the first place, that it is no easy matter, either for him or for me, to calculate the number of conversions that are made, on both sides, by priests armed with the secular power, and Protestant ministers, discouraged by the frowns of government, and the terrors of persecution. If we judge of this matter by the external face of things, the calculation may, indeed, be favorable to his hypothesis, since the *apostate Protestant* comes forth to view, and is publicly enrolled in the registers of the church, while the *converted Papist* is

obliged to conceal his profession, and to approach the truth, like Nicodemus, secretly and by night. This evident diversity of circumstances, in the respective proselytes, shews that we are not to form our judgement by external appearances, and renders it but equitable to presume, that the progress of knowlege may have produced many examples of the progress of reformation, which do not strike the eye of the public. Is it not, in effect, to be presumed, that if either a toleration, or even an indulgent connivance, were granted to French Protestants, many would appear friends of the Reformation, who, at present, have not sufficient strength of mind to become martyrs, or confessors, in its cause? History informs us of the rapid progress which the Reformation made in France in former times, when a legal toleration was granted to its friends. When this toleration was withdrawn, an immense number of Protestants abandoned their country, their relations, and their fortunes, for the sake of their religion. But when that abominable system of tyranny was set up, which would neither permit the Protestants to profess their religion at home, nor to seek for the enjoyment of religious liberty abroad, and when they were thus reduced to the sad alternative of dissimulation or martyrdom, the courage of many failed, though their persuasion remained the same. In the South of France many continued, and still continue, their profession, even in the face of those booted apostles, who are sent, from time to time, to dragoon them into popery. In other places (particularly in the metropolis, where the empire of the mode, the allurements of court favor, the dread of persecution, unite their influence in favor of popery,) the public profession of protestantism lies under heavy discouragements, and would require a zeal that rises to heroism,—a thing too rare in modern times! In a word, a religion, like popery, which forms the main spring in the political machine, which is doubly armed with allurements and terrors, must damp the

fortitude of the feeble friend to truth, and attract the *external* respect even of libertines, free-thinkers, and sceptics.

In the second place, if it should be alleged, that men eminent for learning and genius have adhered *seriously* to the profession of popery, the fact cannot be denied. But what does it prove? It proves only that, in such persons, there are circumstances that counteract the natural influence of learning and science. It cannot be expected that the influence of learning and philosophy will always obtain a complete victory over the attachment to a superstitious church, that is riveted by the early prejudices of education, by impressions formed by the examples of respectable persons who have professed and defended the doctrine of that church, by a habit of veneration for authority, and by numberless associations of ideas, whose combined influence gives a wonderful bias to the mind, and renders the impartial pursuit of truth extremely difficult. Thus knowlege is acquired with an express design to strengthen previous impressions and prejudices. Thus many make considerable improvements in science, who have never once ventured to review their *religious* principles, or to examine the authority on which they have been taken up.

Others observe egregious abuses in the Romish church, and are satisfied with rejecting them in secret, without thinking them sufficient to justify a separation. This class is extremely numerous; and it cannot be said that the improvements in science have had no effect upon their religious sentiments. They are neither thorough Papists nor entire Protestants; but they are manifestly verging toward the Reformation.

Nearly allied to this class is another set of men, whose case is singular and worthy of attention. Even in the bosom of the Romish church, they have tolerably just notions of the sublime simplicity and genuine beauty of the Christian religion; but, either from false reasonings upon human nature, or an observa-

tion of the powerful impressions that authority makes upon the credulity, and a pompous ritual upon the senses of the multitude, imagine that Christianity, in its native form, is too pure and elevated for vulgar souls, and therefore countenance and maintain the absurdities of popery, from a notion of their utility. Those who conversed intimately with the sublime Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, have declared, that such was the nature of his sentiments with respect to the public religion of his country.

To all this I may add, that a notion of the necessity of a visible universal church, and of a visible centre or bond of union, has led many to adhere to the papacy (considered in this light), who look upon some of the principal and fundamental doctrines of the Romish church as erroneous and extravagant. Such is the case of the learned and worthy Dr. Courayer, whose unshaken fortitude in declaring his sentiments obliged him to seek an asylum in England; and who, notwithstanding his persuasion of the absurdities which abound in the church of Rome, has never totally separated himself from its communion; and such is known to be the case with many men of learning and piety in that church. Thus it happens, that particular and accidental circumstances counteract, in favor of popery, the natural effects of improvements in learning and philosophy, which have their full and proper influence in Protestant countries, where any thing that resembles these circumstances is directly in favor of the reformed religion.

But I beg that it may be attentively observed, in the third place, that, notwithstanding all these particular and accidental obstacles to the progress of the Reformation among men of knowlege and letters, its spirit has, in fact, gained more ground than the ingenious author of the Confessional seems to imagine. I think it must be allowed, that every branch of superstition that is retrenched from popery, as well as every portion of authority that is taken from its pontiff, is a real gain to the cause of the Reformation;

and, though it does not render that cause absolutely triumphant, yet prepares the way for its progress and advancement. Now (in this point of view), I am persuaded it will appear that, for twenty or thirty years past, the Reformation, or at least its spirit, has rather gained than lost ground in Roman-catholic states. In several countries, and more particularly in France, many of the gross abuses of popery have been corrected. We have seen the saintly legend, in many places, deprived of its fairest honours. We have seen a mortal blow given in France to the absolute power of the pope. What is still more surprising, we have seen, even in Spain and Portugal, the display of a spirit of opposition to the pretended infallible ruler of the church. We have seen the very order, that has been always considered as the chief support of the papacy, the order of the Jesuits, the fundamental characteristic of whose institute is an inviolable obligation to extend, beyond all limits, the despotic authority of the pontiffs; we have seen, I say, that order suppressed, banished, covered with deserved infamy, in three powerful kingdoms [b]; and we see, at this moment, their credit declining in other Roman-catholic states. We see, in several popish countries, and more especially in France, the Scriptures more generally in the hands of the people than in former times. We have seen the senate of Venice, not many months ago, suppressing, by an express edict [c], the officers of the inquisition in all the small towns, reducing their power to a shadow in the larger cities, extending the liberty of the press; and all this in a steady opposition to the repeated remonstrances of the court of Rome. These, and many other facts that might be collected here, facts of a recent date, shew that the essential spirit of popery, which is a spirit of unlimited despotism in the pretended head of the church, and a spirit of blind submission and superstition in its members, is

[b] France, Spain, and Portugal.

[c] This edict was issued in the month of February, 1767.

rather losing than gaining ground, even in those countries that still profess the religion of Rome.

If this be the case, it would seem, indeed, very strange, that popery, which is losing ground at home, should be gaining it abroad, and acquiring new strength, as some imagine, even in Protestant countries. This, at first sight, must appear a paradox of the most enormous size; and it is to be hoped that it will continue to appear such, upon the closest examination.—While the spirit and vigor of popery are actually declining on the continent, I would fondly hope, that the apprehensions of some worthy persons, with respect to its progress in England, are without foundation. To account for the growth of popery in an age of light, would be incumbent upon me, if the *fact* were true. Until this fact be *proved*, I may be excused from undertaking such a task. The famous story of the golden tooth, that employed the laborious researches of physicians, chemists, and philosophers, stands upon record, as a warning to those who are over-hasty to account for a thing which has no existence. My distance from England, during many years past, renders me, indeed, less capable of judging of the state of popery, than those who are upon the spot: I shall therefore confine myself to a few reflexions upon this interesting subject.

When it is said that popery gains ground in England, one of the two following things must be meant by this expression: either that the spirit of the established, and other reformed churches, is leaning that way; or that a number of individuals are made proselytes, by the seduction of popish emissaries, to the Romish communion. With respect to the established church, I think that a candid and accurate observer must vindicate it from the charge of a spirit of approximation to Rome. We do not live in the days of a Laud; nor do his successors seem to have imbibed his spirit. I do not hear that the claims of church-power are carried high in the present times, or that a spirit of intolerance characterises the epi-

scopal hierarchy; and though it may be wished, that the case of subscription might be made easier to good and learned men, whose scruples deserve indulgence, and be better accommodated to what is known to be the reigning theology among the episcopal clergy, yet it is straining matters too far to allege the demand of subscription as a proof that the established church is verging toward popery. As to the Protestant dissenting churches in England and Ireland, they stand so avowedly clear of all imputations of this nature, that it is utterly unnecessary to vindicate them on this head. If any thing of this kind is to be apprehended from any quarter within the pale of the Reformation, it is from the quarter of fanaticism, which, by discrediting free inquiry, crying down human learning, and encouraging those pretended illuminations and impulses which give imagination an undue ascendency in religion, lays weak minds open to the seductions of a church, which has always made its conquests by wild visions and false miracles, addressed to the passions and fancies of men. Cry down reason, preach up implicit faith, extinguish the lamp of free inquiry, make inward experience the test of truth; and then the main barriers against popery will be removed. Persons who follow this method possibly *may* continue Protestants; but there is no security against their becoming Papists, if the occasion is presented. Were they placed in a scene where artful priests and enthusiastic monks could play their engines of conversion, their Protestant faith would be very likely to fail.

If by the supposed growth of popery be meant, the success of the Romish emissaries in making proselytes to their communion, here again the question turns upon a matter of fact, upon which I cannot venture to pronounce. There is no doubt that the Romish hierarchy carries on its operations under the shade of an indulgent connivance; and it is to be feared that its members are '*wiser* (i. e. more artful 'and zealous) in their generation than the children

'of light.' The establishment of the Protestant religion inspires, it is to be feared, an indolent security into the hearts of its friends. Ease and negligence are the fruits of prosperity; and this maxim extends even to religion. It is not unusual to see a victorious general sleep upon his laurels, and thus give advantage to an enemy, whom adversity renders vigilant. All good and true Protestants will heartily wish that this were otherwise. They will be sincerely afflicted at any decline that may happen in the zeal and vigilance that ought ever to be employed against popery and its emissaries, since they can never cease to consider it as a system of wretched superstition and political despotism, and must particularly look upon popery in the British isles as pregnant with the principles of disaffection and rebellion, and as at invariable enmity with our religious liberty and our happy civil constitution. But still there is reason to hope, that it makes very little progress, notwithstanding the apprehensions that have been entertained on this subject. The insidious publications of a Taafe and a Philips, who abuse the terms of charity, philanthropy, and humanity, in their flimsy apologies for a church whose *tender mercies* are known to be *cruel*, have alarmed many well-meaning persons. But it is much more wise, as well as noble, to be vigilant and steady against the enemy, than to take the alarm at the smallest of his motions, and to fall into a panic, as if we were conscious of our weakness. Be that as it will, I return to my first principle, and am still persuaded, that the Protestant church, and its prevailing spirit, are, at this present time, as averse to popery, as they were at any period since the Reformation, and that the thriving state of learning and philosophy is adapted to confirm them in this well-founded aversion. Should it even be granted that proselytes to popery have been made, among the ignorant and unwary, by the emissaries of Rome, this would by no means invalidate what I here maintain, though it

may justly be considered as a powerful incentive to the zeal and vigilance of rulers temporal and spiritual, of the pastors and people of the reformed churches, against the encroachments of Rome.

The author of the Confessional complains, and perhaps justly, of the bold and public appearance which popery has of late made in England. "The "papists (*says he*) strengthened and animated by an "influx of Jesuits, expelled even from popish coun- "tries for crimes and practices of the worst com- "plexion, open public mass-houses, and affront the "laws of this Protestant kingdom in other respects, "not without insulting some of those who endeavour "to check their insolence. And we are told, with "the utmost coolness and composure, that popish "bishops go about here, and exercise every part of "their function, without offence, and without obser- "vation." This is, indeed, a circumstance that the friends of reformation and religious liberty cannot behold without offence: I say, the friends of religious liberty; because the maintenance of all liberty, both civil and religious, depends on circumscribing popery within proper bounds, since it is not a system of *innocent* speculative opinions, but a yoke of despotism, an enormous mixture of princely and priestly tyranny, designed to enslave the consciences of mankind, and to destroy their most sacred and invaluable rights. But, at the same time, I do not think we can, from this public appearance of popery, rationally conclude that it gains ground, much less (as the author of the Confessional suggests), 'that the two hierarchies '(i. e. the episcopal and the popish) are growing 'daily more and more into a resemblance of each 'other.' The natural reason of this bold appearance of popery is the spirit of toleration, that has been carried to a great height, and has rendered the execution of the laws against papists, in recent times, less rigorous and severe.

How it may be proper to act with regard to the growing insolence of popery, is a matter that must

be left to the wisdom and clemency of government. Rigor against any thing that bears the name of *religion*, gives pain to a candid and generous mind; and it is certainly more eligible to extend too far, than to circumscribe too narrowly, the bounds of forbearance and indulgent charity.

If the dangerous tendency of popery, considered as a pernicious system of policy, should be pleaded as a sufficient reason to except it from the indulgence due to *merely speculative* systems of theology;—if the voice of history should be appealed to, as declaring the assassinations, rebellions, conspiracies, the horrid scenes of carnage and desolation, that popery has produced;—if standing principles and maxims of the Romish church should be quoted, which authorise these enormities;—if it should be alleged, finally, that popery is much more malignant and dangerous in Great Britain than in any other Protestant country;—I acknowlege that all these pleas against it are well-founded, and plead for modifications to the connivance which the clemency of government may think proper to grant to that unfriendly system of religion. All I wish is, that mercy and humanity may ever accompany the execution of justice, and that nothing like *merely religious* persecution may stain the British annals; and all I maintain with respect to the chief point under consideration is, that the public appearance of popery, which is justly complained of, is no *certain* proof of its growth, but rather shews its indiscretion than its strength, and the declining vigor of *our* zeal than the growing influence of *its* maxims.

THE FOURTH APPENDIX.

A circumstantial and exact Account of the Correspondence that was carried on, in the years 1717 and 1718, between Dr. William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain Doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris, relative to a Project of Union between the English and Gallican Churches.

———Magis amica veritas.

WHEN the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, laid an insidious snare for unthinking Protestants, in his artful Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, the pious and learned Dr. Wake unmasked this deceiver; and the writings he published on this occasion gave him a distinguished rank among the victorious champions of the Protestant cause. Should any person, who had perused these writings, be informed, that this 'pretended champion of the Pro-'testant religion had set on foot a project of union 'with a popish church, with concessions in favor of 'the grossest superstition and idolatry[a],' he would be apt to stare; at least, he would require the strongest possible evidence for a fact, in all appearance so contradictory and unaccountable. This accusation has, nevertheless, been brought against the eminent prelate, by the ingenious and intrepid author of the Confessional; and it is founded upon an extraordinary passage in Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History; where we are told, that Dr. Wake 'formed 'a project of peace and union between the English 'and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, 'that each of the two communities should retain the 'greatest part of their respective and peculiar doc-

[a] See the Confessional, 2d edition, *Pref.* p. lxxvi.

'trines[b].' This passage, though it is, perhaps, too uncharitably interpreted by the author already men-

[b] Dr. Mosheim had certainly a very imperfect idea of this correspondence; and he seems to have been mis-led by the account of it, which Kiorning has given in his dissertation De Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum, published at Helmstadt in 1739; which account, notwithstanding the means of information its author seemed to have by his journey to England, and his conversations with Dr. Courayer, is full of mistakes. Thus Kiorning tells us, that Dr. Wake submitted to the judgement of the Romish doctors, his correspondents, the conditions of peace between the two churches, which *he* had drawn up;—that he sent a learned man (Dr. Wilkins, his chaplain) to Paris, to forward and complete, if possible, the projected union;—that, in a certain assembly holden at Paris, the difficulties of promoting this union without the pope's concurrence were insisted upon by some men of high rank, who seemed inclined to the union, and that these difficulties put an end to the conferences;—that, however, two French divines (whom he supposes to be Du-Pin and Girardin) were sent to England to propose new terms. It now happens unluckily for Mr. Kiorning's reputation as an historian, that not one syllable of all this is true, as will appear sufficiently to the reader, who peruses with attention the account and the pieces which I here lay before the public.—But one of the most egregious errors in the account given by Kiorning, is at page 61 of his Dissertation, where he says, that archbishop Wake was so much elated with the prospect of success in the scheme of an accommodation, that he acquainted the divines of Geneva with it in 1719, and plainly intimated to them, that he thought it an easier thing than reconciling the Protestants with each other.—Let us now see where Kiorning received this information.—Why, truly, it was from a letter of Dr. Wake to Professor Turretin of Geneva, in which there is not one syllable relative to a scheme of union between the English and Gallican churches; and yet Kiorning quotes a passage in this letter as the only authority he has for this affirmation. The case was this: Dr. Wake, in the former part of his letter to Turretin, speaks of the sufferings of the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, which he had successfully endeavoured to alleviate, by engaging George I. to intercede in their behalf; and then proceeds to express his desire of healing the differences that disturbed the union of the Protestant churches abroad. 'Interim (says he) dum hæc (i. e. 'the endeavours to relieve the Hungarian and Piedmontese 'churches) feliciter peraguntur, ignoscite, Fratres Dilectissimi, 'si majoris quidem laboris atque difficultatis, sed longè maximi 'omnibus commodi inceptum vobis proponam; unionem nimirùm, '&c.' Professor Turretin, in his work entitled, Nubes Testium, printed only the latter part of Dr. Wake's letter, beginning

tioned, would furnish, without doubt, just matter of censure, were it founded in truth. I was both surprised and perplexed while I was translating it. I could not immediately procure proper information with respect to the fact, nor could I examine Mosheim's proofs of this strange assertion, because he alleged none. Destitute of materials, either to invalidate or confirm the fact, I made a slight mention, in a short note, of a correspondence which had been carried on between archbishop Wake and Dr. Du-Pin, with the particulars of which I was not acquainted; and, in this my ignorance, only made a general observation, drawn from Dr. Wake's known zeal for the Protestant religion, which was designed, not to confirm that assertion, but rather to insinuate my disbelief of it. It never could come into my head, that the interests of the Protestant religion would have been safe in archbishop Wake's hands, had I given the smallest degree of credit to Dr. Mosheim's assertion, or even suspected that this eminent prelate was inclined to form an union between the English and Gallican churches, 'founded on this con-'dition, that each of the two communities should 'retain the greatest part of their respective and pe-'culiar doctrines.'

If the author of the Confessional had given a little more attention to this, he could not have represented me, as confirming the fact alleged by Mosheim, much less as giving it what he is pleased to call the

with the words, 'Interim, &c.' and Kiorning, not having seen the preceding part of this letter, which relates to the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, and with which these words are connected, took it into his head that these words were relative to the scheme of union between the English and Gallican churches. Nor did he only take this into his head by way of conjecture, but he affirms, very sturdily and positively, that the words have this signification: 'Hæc verba (says he) tangunt 'pacis cum Gallis instaurandæ negotium, quod ex] temporum 'rationibus manifestum est.' To shew him, however, that he grossly errs, I have published among the annexed pieces (No. XX.) the *whole* letter of archbishop Wake to Turretin.

sanction of my approbation. I did not confirm the fact; for I only said there was a correspondence on the subject, without speaking a syllable of the unpleasing *condition* that forms the charge against Dr. Wake. I shall not enter here into a debate about the grammatical import of my expressions, as I have something more interesting to present to the reader, who is curious of information about archbishop Wake's *real* conduct in relation to the correspondence already mentioned. I have been favored with authentic copies of the letters which passed in this correspondence, which are now in the hands of Mr. Beauvoir of Canterbury, the worthy son of the clergyman who was chaplain to lord Stair in the year 1717, and also with others, from the valuable collection of manuscripts left by Dr. Wake to the library of Christ-Church College in Oxford. It is from these letters that I have drawn the following account, at the end of which copies of them are printed, to serve as proofs of the truth of this relation, which I publish with a disinterested regard to truth. This impartiality may be, in some measure, expected from my situation in life, which has placed me at a distance from the scenes of religious and ecclesiastical contention in England, and cut me off from those personal connexions, that nourish the prejudices of a party spirit, more than many are aware of; but it would be still more expected from my principles, were they known.

From this narrative, confirmed by authentic papers, it will appear with the utmost evidence,

1st, That archbishop Wake was not the *first mover* in this correspondence, nor the person who formed the project of union between the English and Gallican churches.

2dly, That he never made any concessions, nor offered to give up, for the sake of peace, any one point of the established doctrine and discipline of the church of England, in order to promote this union.

3dly, That any desires of union with the church

of Rome, expressed in the archbishop's letters, proceeded from the hopes (well founded, or illusory, is not my business to examine here) that he at first entertained of a considerable reformation in that church, and from an expectation that its most absurd doctrines would fall to the ground, if they could once be deprived of their great support, the papal authority;—the destruction of which authority was the very basis of this correspondence.

It will farther appear, that Dr. Wake considered union in external worship, as one of the best methods of healing the uncharitable dissensions that are often occasioned by a variety of sentiments in point of doctrine, in which a perfect uniformity is not to be expected. This is undoubtedly a wise principle, when it is not carried too far; and whether or no it was carried too far by this eminent prelate, the candid reader is left to judge from the following relation.

In the month of November, 1717, archbishop Wake wrote a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, chaplain to the earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, in which his grace acknowleges the receipt of several obliging letters from Mr. Beauvoir. This is manifestly the first letter which the prelate wrote to that gentleman, and the whole contents of it are matters of a literary nature[c]. In answer to this letter, Mr. Beauvoir, in

[c] The perusal of this letter (which the reader will find among the pieces here subjoined, No. I,) is sufficient to remove the suspicions of the author of the Confessional, who seems inclined to believe, that archbishop Wake was the first mover in the project of uniting the English and Gallican churches. This author, having mentioned Mr. Beauvoir's letter, in which Du-Pin's desire of this union is communicated to the archbishop, asks the following question: 'Can any man be certain that Beauvoir 'mentioned this merely out of his own head, and without some 'previous occasion given, in the archbishop's letter to him, for 'such a conversation with the Sorbonne doctors?' I answer to this question, that every one who reads the archbishop's letter of the 28th of November, to which this letter of Mr. Beauvoir is an answer, may be *very certain* that Dr. Wake's letter did not give him the least occasion for such a conversation, but relates entirely to the Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom,

one dated the eleventh of December, 1717, O. S. gives the archbishop the information he desired, about the method of subscribing to a new edition of St. Chrysostom, which was at that time in the press at Paris, and then mentions his having dined with Du-Pin, and three other doctors of the Sorbonne, who talked as if the whole kingdom of France was to appeal (in the affair of the Bull *Unigenitus*) to a future general council, and who 'wished for an 'union with the church of England, as the most 'effectual means to unite all the western churches.' Mr. Beauvoir adds, that Dr. Du-Pin had desired him to give his duty to the archbishop[d]. Here we see the first hint, the very first overture that was made relative to a project of union between the English and Gallican churches; and this hint comes *originally* from the doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and is not occasioned by any thing contained in preceding letters from archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir, since the one only letter, which Mr. Beauvoir had hitherto

Martenne's Thesaurus Anecdotorum, and Moreri's Dictionary. 'But, says our author, *there is an &c.* in this copy of Mr. 'Beauvoir's letter, very suspiciously placed, as if to cover 'something improper to be disclosed'*. But really if any thing was covered here, it was covered from the archbishop as well as from the public, since the very same *&c.* that we see in the printed copy of Mr. Beauvoir's letter, stands in the original. Besides, I would be glad to know, what there is in the placing of this *&c.* that can give rise to suspicion? The passage of Beauvoir's letter runs thus: 'They (the Sorbonne doctors) 'talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future 'general council, &c. They wished for an union with the 'church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all 'the Western churches.' It is palpably evident, that the *&c.* here has not the least relation to the union in question, and gives no sort of reason to *suspect* any thing but the spirit of discontent, which the insolent proceedings of the court of Rome had excited among the French divines.

[d] See the Letters subjoined, No. II.

* The other reflexions that the author has there made upon the correspondence between archbishop Wake and the doctors of the Sorbonne, are examined in the following note.

received from that eminent prelate, was entirely taken up in inquiries about some new editions of books that were then publishing at Paris.

Upon this the archbishop wrote a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, in which he makes honorable mention of Du-Pin as an author of merit, and expresses his desire of serving him, with that benevolent politeness which reigns in our learned prelate's letters, and seems to have been a striking line in his amiable character[c]. Dr. Du-Pin improved this favorable

[c] This 'handsome mention' of Dr. Du-Pin, made by the archbishop, gives new subject of suspicion to the author of the *Confessional*. He had learned the fact from the article Wake, in the Biographia Britannica; 'but, says he, we are left to 'guess what this handsome mention was;—had the biographer 'given us this letter, together with that of November 27, they 'might probably (it would have been more accurate to have said '*possibly*), have discovered what the biographer did not want we 'should know, namely, the share Dr. Wake had in forming the 'project of an union between the two churches.' This is guessing with a witness:—and it is hard to imagine how the boldest calculator of probabilities could conclude from Dr. Wake's *handsome mention* of Dr. Du-Pin, that the former had a *share*, of any kind, in *forming* the project of union now under consideration. For the ingenious guesser happens to be quite mistaken in his conjecture; and I hope to convince him of this, by satisfying his desire. He desires the letter of the 27th (or rather the 28th) of November; I have referred to it in the preceding note, and he may read it at the end of this account. He desires the letter in which handsome mention is made of Du-Pin; and I can assure him, that in that letter there is not a single syllable relative to an union. The passage that regards Dr. Du-Pin is as follows: 'I am much obliged to you (says Dr. Wake, in his letter to Mr. 'Beauvoir, dated January 2, 1717-18.) for making my name 'known to Dr. Du-Pin. He is a gentleman by whose labors I 'have profited these many years; and I do really admire how it 'is possible for one man to publish so much, and yet so cor-'rectly, as he has generally done. I desire my respects to him; 'and that, if there be any thing here whereby I may be service-'able to him, he will freely command me.' Such was the archbishop's handsome mention of Du-Pin; and it evidently shews that, till then, there never had been any communication between them. Yet these are all the proofs which the author of the Confessional gives of the probability that the archbishop was the first mover in this affair.

But 'his grace accepted the party, a formal treaty com-'mences, and is carried on in a correspondence of some length,'

occasion of writing to the archbishop a letter of thanks, dated January 31, (February 11, N. S.)

says the author of the Confessional. And I would candidly ask that author, upon what principles of Christianity, reason, or charity, Dr. Wake could have refused to hear the proposals, terms, and sentiments of the Sorbonne doctors, who discovered an inclination to unite with his church? The author of the Confessional says elsewhere, 'that it was, at the best, officious and 'presumptuous in Dr. Wake to enter into a negotiation of this 'nature, without authority from the church or the government.' But the truth is, that he entered into no negotiation or treaty on this head; he considered the letters that were written on both sides as a personal correspondence between individuals, who could not commence a negotiation, until they had received the proper powers from their respective sovereigns; and I do think he was greatly in the right to enter into this correspondence, as it seemed very likely, in the *then* circumstances of the Gallican church, to serve the Protestant interest and the cause of reformation. If, indeed, in the course of this correspondence, he had discovered any thing like what Mosheim imputes to him, even a disposition toward an union, founded upon the condition that each of the two churches should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines, I should think his conduct liable to censure. But no such thing appears in his letters, which I have subjoined to this account, that the candid examiner may receive full satisfaction in this affair. Mosheim's mistake is palpable, and the author of the Confessional seems certainly to have been too hasty in adopting it. He alleges, that Dr. Wake might have maintained the justice and orthodoxy of every individual article of the church of England, and yet 'give up some of them 'for the sake of peace.' But the archbishop expressly declares, in his letters, that he would give up none of them, and that, though he was a friend to peace, he was still a greater friend to truth. The author's reflexion, that, without some concessions on the part of the archbishop, the treaty could not have gone a step farther, may be questioned in theory; for treaties are often carried on for a long time without concessions on both sides, or perhaps on either; and the archbishop might hope that Du-Pin, who had yielded several things, would still yield more; but this remark is overturned by the plain fact. Besides, I repeat what I have already insinuated, that this *correspondence* does not deserve the name of a *treaty* *. Proposals were made only on Du-Pin's side; and these proposals were positively rejected by the archbishop, in his letters to Mr. Beauvoir. Nor did he propose any thing in return to either of the Sorbonne doctors, but that they should entirely renounce the authority of the pope, hoping, though perhaps too fancifully, that, when this was done, the

* See post, note [s] and the letters subjoined, No. XI.

1717-18; in which, toward the conclusion, he intimates his desire of an union between the English and Gallican churches, and observes, that the difference between them, in most points, was not so great as to render a reconciliation impracticable; and that it was his earnest wish, that all Christians should be united in one sheepfold. His words are: 'Unum 'addam cum bonâ veniâ tuâ, me vehementer optare, 'ut unionis inter Ecclesias Anglicanam et Gallicanam 'ineundæ via aliqua inveniri posset: non ita sumus 'ab invicem in plerisque dissiti, ut non possimus 'mutuo reconciliari. Atque utinam Christiani omnes 'essent unum ovile.' The archbishop wrote an an-

two churches might come to an agreement about other matters, as far as was necessary. But the author of the Confessional supposes, that the archbishop must have made some concessions, because the letters on both sides were sent to Rome, and received there as 'so many trophies gained from the enemies of the church.' This supposition, however, is somewhat hasty. Could nothing but concessions from the archbishop make the court of Rome consider those letters in that light? Would they not think it a great triumph, that they had obliged Du-Pin's party to give up the letters as a token of their submission, and defeated the archbishop's design of engaging the Gallican church to assert its liberty, by throwing off the papal yoke? If Dr. Wake made concessions, where are they? And if these were the trophies, why did not the partisans of Rome publish authentic copies of them to the world? Did the author of the Confessional ever hear of a victorious general, who carefully hid under ground the standards he had taken from the enemy? This, indeed, is a new method of dealing with trophies. Our author, however, does not, as yet, quit his hold; he alleges, that the French divines could not have acknowleged the *catholic benevolence* of the archbishop, if he made no concessions to them. This reasoning would be plausible, if charity toward those who err consisted in embracing their errors; but this is a definition of charity, that, I fancy, the ingenious author will give up, upon second thoughts. Dr. Wake's catholic benevolence consisted in his esteem for the merit and learning of his correspondents, in his compassion for their servitude and their errors, in his desire of the reformation and liberty of their church, and his inclination to live in friendship and concord, as far as was possible, with all that bear the Christian name; and this disposition, so suitable to the benevolent genius of Christianity, will always reflect a true and solid glory upon his character as a Christian bishop.

swer to this letter, dated February 13-24, 1717-18, in which he asserts, at large, the purity of the church of England, in faith, worship, government, and discipline, and tells his correspondent, that he is persuaded that there are few things in the doctrine and constitution of that church, which even he himself (Du-Pin) would desire to see changed; the original words are: 'Aut ego vehementer fallor, aut in eâ 'pauca admodum sunt, quæ vel tu—immutanda 'velles;' and again, 'Sincere judica, quid in hac 'nostrâ ecclesiâ invenias, quod jure damnari debeat, 'aut nos atrâ hæreticorum, vel etiam schismaticorum, 'notâ inurere.' The zeal of the venerable prelate goes still farther; and the moderate sentiments which he observed in Dr. Du-Pin's letter induced him to exhort the French to maintain, if not to enlarge, the rights and privileges of the Gallican church, for which the existing disputes, about the constitution *Unigenitus*, furnished the most favorable occasion. He also expresses his readiness to concur in improving any opportunity, that might be offered by these debates, to form an union that might be productive of a farther reformation, in which, not only the most rational Protestants, but also a considerable number of the Roman catholic churches, should join with the church of England; 'si exhinc (says the archbishop, 'speaking of the recent commotions excited by the 'Constitution) aliquid amplius elici possit ad unionem 'nobiscum ecclesiasticam ineundam; unde forte nova 'quædam reformatio exoriatur, in quam non solum 'ex Protestantibus optimi quique, verum etiam pars 'magna ecclesiarum Communionis Romano-Catho-'licæ, unà nobiscum conveniant.'

Hitherto we see, that the expressions of the two learned doctors of the English and Gallican churches, relating to the union under consideration, are of a vague and general nature. When they were thus far advanced in their correspondence, an event happened, which rendered it more close, serious, and interesting, and even brought on some particular mention of

preliminary terms, and certain preparatives for a future negotiation. The event I mean, was a discourse delivered, in an extraordinary meeting of the Sorbonne, March 17-28, 1717-18, by Dr. Patrick Piers de Girardin, in which he exhorts the doctors of that society to proceed in their design of revising the doctrines and rules of the church, to separate things necessary from those which are not so, by which they will shew the church of England that they do not hold every decision of the pope for an article of faith. The learned orator observes farther (upon what foundation it is difficult to guess), that the English church may be more easily reconciled than the Greek was; and that the disputes between the Gallican church and the court of Rome, removing the apprehensions of papal tyranny, which terrified the English from the Catholic communion, will lead them back into the bosom of the church, with greater celerity than they formerly fled from it: 'Facient '(says he) profecto offensiones, quæ vos inter et 'senatum Capitolinum videntur intervenisse, ut 'Angli, deposito servitutis metu, in ecclesiæ gremium 'revolent alacrius quam olim inde, quorundam exosi 'tyrannidem, avolârunt. Meministis ortas inter 'Paulum et Barnabam dissensiones animorum tandem 'eo recidisse, ut singuli propagandæ in diversis regio-'nibus fidei felicius insudaverint sigillatim, quam 'junctis viribus fortasse insudâssent.' This last sentence (in which Dr. Girardin observes, that Paul and Barnabas probably made more converts in consequence of their separation, than they would have done had they traveled together, and acted in concert,) is not a little remarkable; and, indeed, the whole passage discovers rather a desire of making proselytes, than an inclination to form a coalition founded upon concessions and some reformation on the side of popery. It may, perhaps, be alleged, in opposition to this remark, that prudence required a language of this kind, in the infancy of a project of union, whatever

concessions might be offered afterwards to bring about its execution; and this may be true.

After the delivery of this discourse in the Sorbonne, Dr. Du-Pin shewed to Girardin archbishop Wake's letter, which was also communicated to cardinal de Noailles, who admired it greatly, as appears from a letter of Dr. Piers de Girardin to Dr. Wake, written, I believe, April 18-29, 1718. Before the arrival of this letter the archbishop had received a second from Dr. Du-Pin, and also a copy of Girardin's discourse. But he does not seem to have entertained any notion, in consequence of all this, that the projected union would go on smoothly. On the contrary, he no sooner received these letters, than he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir (April 15, 1718), that it was his opinion, that neither the regent nor the cardinal would ever come to a rupture with the court of Rome; and that nothing could be done, in point of doctrine, until this rupture was brought about. He added, that fundamentals should be distinguished from matters of less moment, in which differences or errors might be tolerated. He expresses a curiosity to know the reception which his former letter to Du-Pin had met with; and he wrote again to that ecclesiastic, and also to Girardin (May 1, 1718,), and sent both his letters toward the end of that month.

The doctors of the Sorbonne, whether they were set in motion by the real desire of an union with the English church, or only intended to make use of this union as the means of intimidating the court of Rome, began to form a plan of reconciliation, and to specify the terms upon which they were willing to bring it into execution. Mr. Beauvoir acquaints the archbishop, in July, 1718, that Dr. Du-Pin had made a rough draught of an essay toward an union, which cardinal de Noailles desired to peruse before it was sent to his grace; and that both Du-Pin and Girardin were highly pleased with his grace's letters to them. These letters, however, were written with a truly Protestant spirit; the archbishop insisted, in them,

upon the truth and orthodoxy of the articles of the church of England, and did not make any concession, which supposed the least approximation to the peculiar doctrines, or the smallest approbation of the ambitious pretensions of the church of Rome; he observed, on the contrary, that it was now the time for Dr. Du-Pin, and his brethren of the Sorbonne, to declare openly their true sentiments with respect to the superstition and tyranny of that church; that it was the interest of all Christians to unmask that court, and to reduce its authority to its primitive limits; and that, according to the fundamental principle of the Reformation in general, and of the church of England in particular, Jesus Christ is the only founder, source, and head of the church. Accordingly, when Mr. Beauvoir had acquainted the archbishop with Du-Pin's having formed a plan of union, his grace answered in a manner which shewed that he looked upon the removal of the Gallican church from the jurisdiction of Rome as an essential preliminary article, without which no negotiation could even be commenced. "To speak freely (says the "prelate, in his letter of the 11th of August to Mr. "Beauvoir), I do not think the regent (the duke of "Orleans) yet strong enough in his interest, to ad-"venture at a separation from the court of Rome. "Could the regent openly appear in this, the divines "would follow, and a scheme might fairly be offered "for such an union, as alone is requisite, between "the English and Gallican churches. But, till the "time comes that the state will enter into such a "work, all the rest is mere speculation. It may "amuse a few contemplative men of learning and "probity, who see the errors of the church, and groan "under the tyranny of the court of Rome. It may "dispose them secretly to wish well to us, and think "charitably of us; but still they must call themselves "Catholics, and us Heretics; and, to all outward "appearance, say mass, and act so as they have "been wont to do. If, under the shelter of Gallican

" privileges, they can now and then serve the state " by speaking big in the Sorbonne, they will do it " heartily: but that is all, if I am not greatly mis- " taken."

Soon after this the archbishop received Du-Pin's Commonitorium, or advice relating to the method of re-uniting the English and Gallican churches; of the contents of which it will not be improper to give here a compendious account, as it was read in the Sorbonne, and was approved there, and as the concessions it contains, though not sufficient to satisfy a true Protestant, are yet such as one would not expect from a very zealous papist. Dr. Du-Pin, after some reflexions, in the tedious preface, on the Reformation, and the present state of the church of England, reduces the controversy between the churches to three heads, viz. articles of faith,—rules and ceremonies of ecclesiastical discipline,—and moral doctrine, or rules of practice; and these he treats, by entering into an examination of the XXXIX articles of the church of England. The first five of these articles he approves. With regard to the VIth, which affirms that the Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, he expresses himself thus: " This we will readily grant, provided that you do " not entirely exclude tradition, which does not exhi- " bit new articles of faith, but confirms and illus- " trates those which are contained in the sacred " writings, and places about them new guards to de- " fend them against gainsayers [f], &c." He thinks that the apocryphal books will not occasion much difficulty. He is, indeed, of opinion, that " they " ought to be deemed *canonical*, as those books con- " cerning which there were doubts for some time;" yet, since they are not in the first or Jewish canon, he will

[f] The original words are: ' Hoc lubenter admittemus, modo ' non excludatur traditio, quæ articulos fidei novos non exhibet, ' sed confirmat et explicat ea, quæ in sacris literis habentur, ac ' adversus aliter sapientes munit eos novis cautionibus, ita ut non ' nova dicantur, sed antiqua novè.'

allow them to be called *Deutero-Canonical.* He consents to the Xth article, which relates to free-will, provided that by the word *power* be understood what school-divines call *potentia proxima,* or a direct and immediate power, since, without a *remote* power of doing good works, sin could not be imputed.

With respect to the XIth article, which contains the doctrine of justification, he thus expresses the sentiments of his brethren: "We do not deny that "it is by faith alone that we are justified, but we "maintain that faith, charity, and good works, are "necessary to salvation; and this is acknowleged in "the following article [g].

Concerning the XIIIth article, he observes, "that "there will be no dispute, since many divines of "both communions embrace the doctrine contained "in that article," (viz. that works done before the grace of Christ are not pleasing to God, and have the nature of sin). He indeed thinks "it very "harsh to say, that all those actions are sinful which "have not the grace of Christ for their source;" but he considers this rather as a matter of theological discussion than as a term of fraternal communion [h].

On the XIVth article, relating to works of supererogation (undoubtedly one of the most absurd and pernicious doctrines of the Romish church), he observes, "that works of supererogation mean only "works conducive to salvation, which are not mat-"ters of strict precept, but of counsel only; that the "word, being new, may be rejected, provided it be "owned that the faithful do some such works."

He makes no objections to the XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIIIth articles.

[g] The original words are: 'Fide solâ in Christum nos justi-'ficari, quod articulo XImo exponitur, non inficiamur; sed fide, 'charitate, et adjunctis bonis operibus, quæ omninò necessaria 'sunt ad salutem, ut articulo sequenti agnoscitur.'

[h] 'De articulo XIIImo nulla lis erit, cum multi theologi in 'eâdem versentur sententiâ. Durius videtur id dici, eas omnes 'actiones quæ ex gratiâ Christi non fiunt, esse peccata. Nolim 'tamen de hâc re disceptari, nisi inter theologos.'

His observation on the XIXth is, that to the definition of the church, the words, *under lawful pastors,* ought to be added; and that though all particular churches, even that of Rome, may err, it is needless to say this in a confession of faith.

He consents to the decision of the XXth article, which refuses to the church the power of ordaining any thing that is contrary to the word of God; but he says, it must be taken for granted, that the church will never do this in matters which overturn essential points of faith, or, to use his own words, 'quæ fidei substantiam evertant.'

It is in consequence of this notion that he remarks on the XXIst article, that general councils, received by the universal church, cannot err; and that, though particular councils may, yet every private man has not a right to reject what he thinks contrary to Scripture.

As to the important points of controversy contained in the XXIId article, he endeavours to mince matters as nicely as he can, to see if he can make the cable pass through the eye of the needle; and for this purpose observes, that souls must be *purged, i. e.* purified from all defilement of sin, before they are admitted to celestial bliss; that the church of Rome does not affirm this to be done by fire; that indulgences are only relaxations or remissions of temporal penalties in this life; that the Roman catholics do not worship the cross, or relics, or images, or even saints before their images, but only pay them an external respect, which is not of a religious nature; and that even the external demonstration of respect is a matter of indifference, which may be laid aside or retained without harm.

He approves the XXIIId article; and does not pretend to dispute about the XXIVth, which ordains the celebration of divine worship in the vulgar tongue. He, indeed, excuses the Latin and Greek churches for preserving their ancient languages; but, as great care has been taken that every thing

be understood by translations, he allows, that divine service may be performed in the vulgar tongue, where that is customary.

Under the XXVth article he insists that the five Romish sacraments be acknowleged as such, whether instituted immediately by Christ or not.

He approves the XXVIth and XXVIIth articles; and he proposes expressing the part of the XXVIIIth that relates to Transubstantiation (which term he is willing to omit entirely), in the following manner: "That the bread and wine are really changed into "the body and blood of Christ, which last are truly "and really received by all, though none but the "faithful partake of any benefit from them." This extends also to the XXIXth article.

With regard to the XXXth, he is for mutual toleration, and would have the receiving of the communion in both kinds held indifferent, and liberty left to each church to preserve, or change, or dispense with its customs on certain occasions.

He is less inclined to concessions on the XXXIst article, and maintains that the sacrifice of Christ is not only commemorated, but continued, in the eucharist, and that every communicant offers him along with, the priest.

He is not a warm stickler for the celibacy of the clergy, but consents so far to the XXXIId article, as to allow that priests may marry, where the laws of the church do not prohibit it.

In the XXXIIId and XXXIVth articles, he acquiesces without exception.

He suspends his judgement with respect to the XXXVth, as he never perused the homilies mentioned therein.

As to the XXXVIth, he would not have the English ordinations pronounced null, though some of them, perhaps, are so; but thinks that, if an union be made, the English clergy ought to be continued in their offices and benefices, either by right or indulgence, 'sive ex jure, sive ex indulgentiâ ecclesiæ.'

He admits the XXXVIIth, so far as relates to the authority of the civil power; denies all temporal and all immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the pope; but alleges, that, by virtue of his primacy, which moderate (he ought to have said *immoderate*) Church-of-England-men do not deny, he is bound to see that the true faith be maintained; that the canons be observed every where; and, when any thing is done in violation of either, to provide the remedies prescribed for such disorders by the canon laws, 'secundum leges canonicas, ut malum resarciatur, procurare.' As to the rest, he is of opinion, that every church ought to enjoy its own liberties and privileges, which the pope has no right to infringe. He declares against going *too far* (the expression is vague, but the man probably meant well) in the punishment of heretics, against admitting the inquisition into France, and against war without a just cause.

The XXXVIIIth and XXXIXth articles he approves. Moreover, in the discipline and worship of the church of England, he sees nothing amiss and thinks no attempts should be made to discover or prove by whose fault the schism was begun. He farther observes, "that an union between the "English and French bishops and clergy may be "completed, or at least advanced, without consulting the Roman pontiff, who may be informed of "the union as soon as it is accomplished, and may "be desired to consent to it; that, if he consents to "it, the affair will then be finished; and that, even "without his consent, the union shall be valid; that, "in case he attempts to terrify by his threats, it will "then be expedient to appeal to a general council[i]." He concludes by observing, "that this arduous mat-

[i] 'Unio fieri potest aut saltem promoveri, inconsulto pontifice, 'qui, factâ unione, de eâ admonebitur, ac suppliciter rogabitur, 'ut velit ei consentire. Si consentiat, jam peracta res erit: sin 'abnuat, nihilominus valebit hæc unio. Et si minas intentet, 'ad concilium generale appellabitur.'

" ter must first be discussed between a few; and, if " there be reason to hope that the bishops, on both " sides, will agree about the terms of the designed " union, that then application must be made to the " civil power, to advance and confirm the work," to which he wishes all success.

It is from the effect which these proposals and terms made upon archbishop Wake, that it will be most natural to form a notion of his sentiments with respect to the church of Rome. It appears evident, from several passages in the writings and letters of this eminent prelate, that he was persuaded that a reformation in the church of Rome could only be made gradually; that it was not probable that they would renounce all their follies at once; but that, if they should once begin to make concessions, this would set in motion the work of reformation, which, in all likelihood, would receive new accessions of vigor, and go on until a happy change should be effected. This way of thinking might have led the archbishop to give an indulgent reception to these proposals of Du-Pin, which contained some concessions, and might be an introduction to more. And yet we find that he rejected this piece, as insufficient to serve as a basis, or ground-work, to the desired union. On receiving the piece, he immediately perceived that he had not sufficient ground for carrying on this negotiation, without previously consulting his brethren, and obtaining a permission from the king for this purpose. Beside this, he was resolved not to submit either to the direction of Dr. Du-Pin, or to that of the Sorbonne, in relation to what was to be retained, or what was to be given up, in the doctrine and discipline of the two churches; nor to treat with the church of Rome upon any other footing, than that of a perfect equality in point of authority and power. He declared more especially, that he would never comply with the proposals made in Du-Pin's Commonitorium, of which I have now given the contents; observing that, though he was

a friend to peace, he was still more a friend to truth: and that, "unless the Roman Catholics gave up "some of their doctrines and rites," an union with them could never be effected. All this is contained in a letter written by the archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir, on receiving the Commonitorium. This letter is dated August 30, 1718; and the reader will find a copy of it subjoined to this appendix [k]. About a month after, his grace wrote a letter to Dr. Du-Pin, dated October 1, 1718, in which he complains of the tyranny of the pope, exhorts the Gallican doctors to throw off the papal yoke in a national council, since a *general* one is not to be expected; and declares, that this must be the great preliminary and fundamental principle of the projected union, which being settled, an uniformity might be brought about in other matters, or a diversity of sentiments mutually allowed, without any violation of peace or concord. The archbishop commends, in the same letter, the candor and openness that reign in the Commonitorium; entreats Dr. Du-Pin to write to him always upon the same footing, freely, and without disguise or reserve; and tells him he is pleased with several things in that piece, and with nothing more than with the doctor's declaring it as his opinion, that there is not a great difference between their respective sentiments; but adds, that he cannot at present give his sentiments at large concerning that piece [l].

Dr. Wake seems to have aimed principally, in this correspondence, at bringing about a separation between the Gallican church and the court of Rome. The terms in which the French divines often spoke about the liberties of their church, might give him some hope that this separation would take place, if ever these divines should be countenanced by the civil power of France. But a man of the arch-

[k] See this Letter, No. III.

[l] See this Letter to Du-Pin, No. V. as also the archbishop's letters to Dr. P. Piers de Girardin, No. VI.

bishop's sagacity could not expect that they would enter into an union with any other national church *all at once*. He acted, therefore, with dignity, as well as with prudence, when he declined to explain himself on the proposals contained in Du-Pin's Commonitorium. To have answered ambiguously, would have been mean; and to have answered explicitly, would have blasted his hopes of separating them from Rome, which separation he desired upon the principles of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, independent of the discussion of theological tenets. The archbishop's sentiments in this matter will still appear farther from the letters he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, in October, November, and December, 1718, and the January following, of which the proper extracts are here subjoined [m]. It appears from these letters, that Dr. Wake insisted still upon the abolition of the pope's jurisdiction over the Gallican church, and leaving him no more than a primacy of rank and honor, and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the imperial city; to which empty title our prelate seems willing to have consented, provided that it should be attended with no infringement of the independence and privileges of each particular country and church. "Si quam "prærogativam" (says the archbishop in his letter to Girardin [n], after having defied the court of Rome to produce any precept of Christ in favor of the primacy of its bishop) "ecclesiæ concilia sedis imperialis "episcopo concesserint (etsi cadente imperio etiam "eâ prærogativâ excidisse merito possit censeri) "tamen, quod ad me attinet, servatis semper regno-"rum juribus, ecclesiarum libertatibus, episcoporum "dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me "licet, suo fruatur qualicumque primatu: non ego "illi locum primum, non inanem honoris titulum "invideo. At in alias ecclesias dominari, &c. hæc "nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis."

[m] See No. IV. VII, VIII, IX, X.

[n] No. VI.

It appears farther, from these letters, that any proposals or terms conceived by the archbishop, in relation to this project of union, were of a vague and general nature, and that his views terminated rather in a plan of mutual toleration, than in a scheme for effecting an entire uniformity. The scheme that seemed to his grace the most likely to succeed was, that "the independence of every national church, "or any other, and its right to determine all matters "that arise within itself, should be acknowleged on "both sides; that, for points of doctrine, they "should agree as far as possible, in all articles of "any moment (as in effect the two churches either "already did, or easily might); and, in other mat-"ters, that a difference should be allowed until God "should bring them to an union in them also [o]." It must be allowed, however, though the expression is still general, that the archbishop was for "purging "out of the public offices of the church all such "things as hinder a perfect communion in divine "service, so that persons coming from one church to "the other might join in prayers, and the holy sa-"crament, and the public service [p]." He was persuaded, that, in the liturgy of the church of England, there was nothing but what the Roman catholics would adopt, except the single rubric relating to the eucharist; and that in the Romish liturgy there was nothing to which Protestants object, but what the more rational Romanists agree might be laid aside, and yet the public offices be not the worse, or more imperfect, for the want of it. He therefore thought it proper to make the demands already mentioned the ground-work of the project of union, at the beginning of the negotiation; not that he meant to stop here, but that, being thus far agreed, they might the more easily go farther, descend to particulars, and render their scheme more perfect by degrees [q].

[o] See the pieces subjoined to this appendix, No. VIII.
[p] Ibid.
[q] See No. VIII.

The violent measures of the court of Rome against that part of the Gallican church which refused to admit the constitution *Unigenitus* as an ecclesiastical law, made the archbishop imagine that it would be no difficult matter to bring this opposition to an open rupture, and to engage the persons concerned in it to throw off the papal yoke, which seemed to be borne with impatience in France. The despotic bull of Clement XI. dated August 28, 1718, and which begins with the words, *Pastoralis officii*, was a formal act of excommunication, thundered out against all the anti-constitutionists, as the opposers of the bull *Unigenitus* were called; and it exasperated the doctors of the Sorbonne in the highest degree. It is to this that the archbishop alludes, when he says, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, dated the 23d of January, 1718[r], "At present he (the pope) has put them out "of his communion. We have withdrawn ourselves "from his; both are out of communion with him, "and I think it is not material on which side the "breach lies." But the wished-for separation from the court of Rome, notwithstanding all the provocations of its pontiff, was still far off. Though, on numberless occasions, the French divines shewed very little respect for the papal authority, yet the renouncing it altogether was a step which required deep deliberation, and which, however inclined they might be to it, they could not make, if they were not seconded by the state. But from the state they were not likely to have any countenance. The regent of France was governed by the abbé Du Bois; and Du Bois was aspiring eagerly after a cardinal's cap. This circumstance (not more unimportant than many secret connexions and trivial views that daily influence the course of public events, the transactions of government, and the fate of nations) was sufficient to stop the Sorbonne and its doctors in the midst of their career; and, in effect, it contributed

[r] See No. X.

greatly to stop the correspondence of which I have been now giving an account, and to nip the project of union in the bud. The correspondence between the archbishop and the two doctors of the Sorbonne had been carried on with a high degree of secrecy. This secrecy was prudent, as neither of the corresponding parties had been authorised by the civil power to negotiate an union between the two churches [s]; and, on Dr. Wake's part, it was partly owing to his having nobody that he could trust with what he did. He was satisfied (as he says in a letter to Mr. Beauvoir) "that most of the high-church bishops "and clergy would readily come into such a design; "but these (adds his grace) are not men either to be "confided in, or made use of, by me [t]."

The correspondence, however, was divulged; and the project of union engrossed the whole conversation of the city of Paris. Lord Stanhope and the earl of Stair were congratulated thereupon by some great personages in the royal palace. The duke regent himself and the abbé Du Bois, minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. Joli de Fleury, the attorney-general, gave the line at first, appeared to favor the correspondence and the project, and let things run on to certain lengths. But the Jesuits and Constitutionists sounded the alarm, and overturned the whole scheme, by spreading a report, that the cardinal de Noailles, and his friends the Jansenists, were upon the point of making a coalition with the heretics. Hereupon the regent was intimidated; and Du Bois had an op-

[s] Dr. Wake seems to have been sensible of the impropriety of carrying on a negotiation of this nature without the approbation and countenance of government. "I always (says he, in his "letter to Mr. Beauvoir, which the reader will find at the end of "this Appendix, No. XI) took it for granted, that no step "should be taken toward an union, but with the knowlege, ap-"probation, and even by the authority of civil powers. All, "therefore, that has passed hitherto stands clear of any excep-"tion as to the civil magistrate. It is only a consultation, in "order to find out a way how an union might be made, if a fit "occasion should hereafter be offered."

[t] See the letters subjoined, No. IX.

portunity of appearing a meritorious candidate for a place in the sacred college. Dr. Piers Girardin was sent for to court, was severely reprimanded by Du Bois, and strictly charged, upon pain of being sent to the Bastile, to give up all the letters he had received from the archbishop of Canterbury, as also a copy of all his own. He was forced to obey; and all the letters were immediately sent to Rome, "as so many "trophies (says a certain author) gained from the "enemies of the church [u]." The archbishop's letters were greatly admired, as striking proofs both of his catholic benevolence and extensive abilities.

Mr. Beauvoir informed the archbishop, by a letter dated February 8, 1719, N. S. that Dr. Du-Pin had been summoned, by the abbé Du Bois, to give an account of what had passed between him and Dr. Wake. This step naturally suspended the correspondence, though the archbishop was at a loss, at first, whether he should look upon it as favorable, or detrimental, to the projected union [x]. The letters which he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir and Dr. Du-Pin after this, express the same sentiments which he discovered through the whole of this transaction [y]. The letter to Du-Pin, more especially, is full of a pacific and reconciling spirit, and expresses the archbishop's desire of cultivating fraternal charity with the doctors, and his regret at the ill success of their endeavours toward the projected union. Du-Pin died before this letter, which was retarded by some accident, arrived at Paris [z]. Before the archbishop had heard of his death, he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, to

[u] These *trophies* were the defeat of the moderate part of the Gallican church, and the ruin of their project to break the papal yoke, and unite with the church of England. See above, note [c], p. 143, where the conclusion which the author of the Confessional has drawn from this expression is shewn to be groundless.

[x] See his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, in the pieces subjoined, No. XI. dated February 5 (16), 1718-19.

[y] See No. XI.—XVIII.

[z] See his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, No. XV.

express his concern, that an account was going to be published of what had passed between the two doctors and himself, and his hope, "that they would keep "in generals, as the only way to renew the good "design, if occasion should serve, and to prevent "themselves trouble from the reflexions of their ene- "mies," on account (as the archbishop undoubtedly means) of the concessions they had made, which, though insufficient to satisfy true Protestants, were adapted to exasperate bigoted papists. The prelate adds, in the conclusion of this letter, "I shall be "glad to know that your doctors still continue their "good opinion of us; for, though we need not the "approbation of men on our own account, yet I can- "not but wish it as a mean to bring them, if not to a "perfect agreement in all things with us, (which is "not presently to be expected,) yet to such an union "as may put an end to the odious charges against, "and consequential aversion of us, as heretics and "schismatics, and in truth, make them cease to be "so."

Dr. Du-Pin (whom the archbishop very sincerely lamented, as the only man, after Mr. Ravechet, on whom the hopes of a reformation in France seemed to depend) left behind him an account of this famous correspondence. Some time before he died, he shewed it to Mr. Beauvoir, and told him, that he intended to communicate it to a very great man (probably the regent). Mr. Beauvoir observed to the doctor, that one would be led to imagine, from the manner in which this account was drawn up, that the archbishop made the first overtures with respect to the correspondence, and was the first who intimated his desire of the union; whereas it was palpably evident that he (Dr. Du-Pin) had first solicited the one and the other. Du-Pin acknowleged this freely and candidly, and promised to rectify it, but was prevented by death. It does not, however, appear, that his death put a final stop to the correspondence; for we learn by a letter from the archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir,

dated August 27, 1719, that Dr. Piers Girardin frequently wrote to his grace. But the opportunity was past; the appellants from the bull *Unigenitus*, or the anti-constitutionists, were divided; the court did not smile at all upon the project, because the regent was afraid of the Spanish party and the Jesuits; and therefore the continuation of this correspondence after Du-Pin's death was without effect.

Let the reader now, after having perused this historical account, judge of the appearance which Dr. Wake makes in this transaction. An impartial reader will certainly draw from this whole correspondence the following conclusions: that archbishop Wake was invited to this correspondence by Dr. Du-Pin, the most moderate of all the Roman Catholic divines; that he entered into it with a view to improve one of the most favorable opportunities that could be offered, of withdrawing the church of France from the jurisdiction of the pope; a circumstance which must have immediately weakened the power of the court of Rome, and, in its consequences, offered a fair prospect of a farther reformation in doctrine and worship, as the case happened in the church of England, when it happily threw off the papal yoke;—that he did not give Du-Pin, or any of the doctors of the Sorbonne, the smallest reason to hope that the church of England would give up any one point of belief or practice to the church of France; but insisted, on the contrary, that the latter should make alterations and concessions, in order to be reconciled to the former;—that he never specified the particular alterations, which would be requisite to satisfy the rulers and doctors of the church of England, but only expressed a general desire of an union between the churches, if that were possible, or at least of a mutual toleration; that he never flattered himself that this union could be perfectly accomplished, or that the doctors of the Gallican church would be entirely brought over to the church of England; but thought that every advance made by

them, and every concession, must have proved really advantageous to the Protestant cause.

The pacific spirit of Dr. Wake did not only discover itself in his correspondence with the Romish doctors, but in several other transactions in which he was engaged by his constant desire of promoting union and concord among Christians; for it is well known, that he kept up a constant friendly correspondence with the most eminent ministers of the foreign Protestant churches, and shewed a fraternal regard to them, notwithstanding the difference of their discipline and government from that of the church of England. In a letter written to the learned le Clerc in 1716, he expresses, in the most cordial terms, his affection for them, and declares positively, that nothing can be farther from his thoughts, than the notions adopted by certain bigoted and furious writers who refuse to embrace the foreign Protestants as their brethren, will not allow to their religious assemblies the denomination of *churches*, and deny the validity of their sacraments. He declares, on the contrary, these churches to be true Christian churches, and expresses a warm desire of their union with the church of England. It will be, perhaps, difficult to find, in any epistolary composition, ancient or modern, a more elegant simplicity, a more amiable spirit of meekness, moderation, and charity, and a happier strain of that easy and unaffected politeness which draws its expressions from a natural habit of goodness and humanity, than we meet with in this letter[a]. We see this active and benevolent prelate still continuing to interest himself in the welfare of the Protestant churches abroad. In several letters written in the years 1718 and 1719, to the pastors and professors of Geneva and Switzerland, who were then at variance about the doctrines of predestination and grace, and some other abstruse points of metaphysical theology, he recommends earnestly to them

[a] See an extract of it among the pieces subjoined, No. XIX.

a spirit of mutual toleration and forbearance, entreats them particularly to be moderate in their *demands* of subscription to articles of faith, and proposes to them the example of the church of England as worthy of imitation in this respect. In one of these letters, he exhorts the doctors of Geneva not to go too far in explaining the nature, determining the sense, and imposing the belief of doctrines, which the divine wisdom has not thought proper to reveal clearly in the Scriptures, and the ignorance of which is very consistent with a state of salvation; and he recommends the prudence of the church of England, which has expressed these doctrines in such general terms, in its articles, that persons who think very differently about the doctrines may subscribe the articles, without wounding their integrity [b]. His letters to professor Schurer of Bern, and to the excellent and learned John Alphonso Turretin of Geneva, are in the same strain of moderation and charity, and are here subjoined [c], as every way worthy of attentive perusal. But what is more peculiarly worthy of attention here, is a letter written May 22, 1719 [d], to Mr. Jablonski of Poland, who, from a persuasion of Dr. Wake's great wisdom, discernment, and moderation, had proposed to him the following question, viz. "Whether it was lawful and expedient for the "Lutherans to treat of an union with the church of "Rome; or whether all negotiations of this kind "ought not to be looked upon as dangerous and de-"lusive?" The archbishop's answer to this question contains a happy mixture of Protestant zeal and Christian charity. He gives the strongest cautions to the Polish Lutherans against entering into any treaty of union with the Roman Catholics, except on a footing of perfect equality, and in consequence of a previous renunciation, on the part of the latter, of the tyranny, and even of the superiority and juris-

[b] See the pieces here subjoined, No. XX.
[c] See these letters, No. XXI, XXII, XXIII.
[d] No. XXV.

diction of the church of Rome and its pontiff; and as to what concerns points of doctrine, he exhorts them not to sacrifice truth to temporal advantages, or even *to a desire of peace.* It would carry us too far, were we to give a minute account of Dr. Wake's correspondence with the Protestants of Nismes, or of Lithuania and other countries: it may however be affirmed, that no prelate, since the Reformation, had so extensive a correspondence with the Protestants abroad, and none could have a more friendly one.

It does not appear, that the dissenters in England made to the archbishop any proposals relative to an union with the established church, or that he made any proposals to them on that head. The spirit of the times, and the situation of the contending parties, offered little prospect of success to any scheme of that nature. In queen Anne's time, he was only bishop of Lincoln; and the disposition of the house of commons, and of all the Tory part of the nation, was then so unfavorable to the dissenters, that it is not at all likely that any attempt toward re-uniting them to the established church would have passed into a law. And, in the next reign, the face of things was so greatly changed in favor of the dissenters, and their hopes of recovering the rights and privileges, of which they had been deprived, were so sanguine, that it may be well questioned whether they would have accepted the offer of an union, had it been made to them. Be that as it will, one thing is certain, and it is a proof of archbishop Wake's moderate and pacific spirit, that, in 1714, when the spirit of the court and of the triumphant part of the ministry was, with respect to the Whigs in general, and to dissenters in particular, a spirit of enmity and oppression, this worthy prelate had the courage to stand up in opposition to the schism-bill, and to protest against it as a hardship upon the dissenters. This step, which must have blasted his credit at court, and proved detrimental to his private interest, as matters then

stood, shewed that he had a friendly and sincere regard for the dissenters. It is true, four years after this, when it was proposed to repeal the schism-bill and the act against occasional conformity, both at once, he disapproved this proposal; and this circumstance has been alleged as an objection to the encomiums that have been given to his tender regard for the dissenters, or at least as a proof that he changed his mind; and that Wake, bishop of Lincoln, was more their friend than Wake, archbishop of Canterbury. I do not pretend to justify this change of conduct. It seems to have been, indeed, occasioned by a change of circumstances. The dissenters, in their state of oppression during the ministry of Bolingbroke and his party, were objects of compassion; and those who had sagacity enough to perceive the ultimate object which that ministry had in view in oppressing them, must have interested themselves in their sufferings, and opposed their oppressors, from a regard to the united causes of Protestantism and liberty. In the following reign, their credit rose; and, while this encouraged the wise and moderate men among them to plead with prudence and with justice their right to be delivered from several real grievances, it elated the violent (and violent men there are in all parties even in the cause of moderation) to a high degree. This rendered them formidable to all those who were jealous of [*zealous for*] the power, privileges, and authority, of the established church; and archbishop Wake was probably of this number. He had protested against the shackles that were imposed upon them when they lay under the frowns of government; but apprehending, perhaps, that the removal of these shackles in the day of prosperity would render their motions toward power too rapid, he opposed the abrogation of the very acts which he had before endeavoured to stifle in their birth. In this, however, it must be acknowleged, that the spirit of party mingled too

much of its influence with the dictates of prudence; and that prudence, thus accompanied, was not very consistent with Dr. Wake's known principles of equity and moderation. As I was at a loss how to account for this part of the archbishop's conduct, I addressed myself to a learned and worthy clergyman of the church of England, who gave me the following answer: "Archbishop Wake's objection to the repeal "of the schism-act was founded on this consideration "only, that such a repeal was needless, as no use "had been made, or was likely to be made, of that "act. It is also highly probable, that he would "have consented without hesitation to rescind it, had "nothing farther been endeavoured at the same time. "But, considering what sort of spirit was then shewn "by the dissenters and others, it ought not to be a "matter of great wonder, if he was afraid that, from "the repeal of the other act (viz. that against occa-"sional conformity), considerable damage might fol-"low to the church over which he presided; and, "even supposing his fears to be excessive, or quite "groundless, yet certainly they were pardonable in "a man who had never done, or designed to do, any "thing disagreeable to the dissenters in any other "affair, and who, in this, had the concurrence of "some of the greatest and wisest of the English "lords, and of the earl of Ilay, among the Scotch, "though a professed Presbyterian."

However some may judge of this particular incident, I think it will appear from the whole tenor of archbishop Wake's correspondence and transactions with Christian churches of different denominations, that he was a man of a pacific, gentle, and benevolent spirit, and an enemy to the feuds, animosities, and party-prejudices, which divide the professors of one holy religion, and by which Christianity is exposed to the assaults of its virulent enemies, and wounded in the house of its pretended friends. To this deserved eulogy, we may add what a learned and

worthy divine [e] has said of this eminent prelate, considered as a controversial writer, even, "that his "accurate and superior knowlege of the nature of the "Romish hierarchy, and of the constitution of the "church of England, furnished him with victorious "arms, both for the subversion of error and the "defence of truth."

[e] Dr. William Richardson, master of Emanuel college in Cambridge, and canon of Lincoln. See his noble edition, and his very elegant and judicious continuation of bishop Godwin's Commentarius de Præsulibus Angliæ, published in 1743, at Cambridge. His words, (p. 167,) are: "Nemo uspiam ecclesiæ "Romanæ vel Anglicanæ statum penitiùs cognitum et explora-"tum habuit; et proinde in disputandi arenam prodiit tum ad "oppugnandum tum ad propugnandum instructissimus."

AUTHENTIC COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS, FROM WHICH THE PRECEDING ACCOUNT IS DRAWN.

No. I.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Lambeth, Nov. 28, S. V. 1717.

I AM indebted to you for several kind letters, and some small tracts, which I have had the favor to receive from you. The last, which contains an account of the new edition that is going on of Chrysostome, I received yesterday. It will, no doubt, be a very valuable edition; but, as they propose to go on with it, I shall hardly live to see it finished. They do not tell us, to whom here we may go for subscriptions: and it is too much trouble to make returns to Paris. They should, for their own advantage, say, where subscriptions will be taken in London, and where one may call for the several volumes as they come out, and pay for the next that are going on.

Among the account of books you were pleased to send me, there is one with a very promising title, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, 5 volumes. I wish I could know what the chief of those anecdotes are; it may be a book very well worth having. I admire they do not disperse some sheets of such works. What they can add to make Moreri's Dictionary so very voluminous, I cannot imagine. I bought it in two exorbitant volumes, and thought it big enough so. While I am writing this, company is come in, so that I am forced to break off; and I can only assure you, that, upon all occasions, you shall find me very sincerely,

Reverend Sir,
Your faithful friend,
W. CANT.

N. B. This is the earliest letter in the whole collection; and, by the beginning of it, seems to be the first which the archbishop wrote to Mr. Beauvoir.

No. II.

A LETTER FROM MR. BEAUVOIR TO ARCHBISHOP WAKE.

My Lord, Paris, Dec. 11, 1717, O. S.

I HAD the honour of your grace's letter of the 28th ultimo but Sunday last, and therefore could not answer it sooner. A person is to be appointed to receive subscriptions for the new edition of St. Chrysostome, and deliver the copies. Inclosed is an account of the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. Dr. Du-Pin, with whom I dined last Monday, and with the Syndic of the Sorbonne and two other doctors, tells me, that what swells Moreri's Dictionary are several additions, and particularly the families of Great Britain. He hath the chief hand in this new edition. They talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future general council, &c. They wished for an union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches. Dr. Du-Pin desired me to give his duty to your grace, upon my telling him, that I would send you an arrêt of the parliament of Paris relating to him, and a small tract of his. I have transmitted them to Mr. Prevereau, at Mr. Secretary Addison's office.

No. III.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Aug. 30, 1718.

I TOLD you in one of my last letters, how little I expected from the present pretences of an union with us. Since I received the papers you sent me, I am more convinced that I was not mistaken. My task is pretty hard, and I scarce know how to manage myself in this matter. To go any farther than I have done in it, even as a divine only of the church of England, may meet with censure: and, as archbishop of Canterbury, I cannot treat with these

gentlemen. I do not think my character at all inferior to that of an archbishop of Paris: on the contrary, without lessening the authority and dignity of the church of England, I must say it is in some respects superior. If the cardinal were in earnest for such an union, it would not be below him to treat with me himself about it. I should then have a sufficient ground to consult with my brethren, and to ask his majesty's leave to correspond with him concerning it. But to go on any farther with these gentlemen, will only expose me to the censure of doing what, in my station, ought not be done without the king's knowlege; and it would be very odd for me to have an authoritative permission to treat with those who have no manner of authority to treat with me. However, I shall venture at some answer or other to both their letters and papers; and so have done with this affair.

I cannot tell well what to say to Dr. Du-Pin. If he thinks we are to take their direction what to retain, and what to give up, he is utterly mistaken. I am a friend to peace, but more to truth. And they may depend upon it, I shall always account our church to stand upon an equal foot with theirs: and that we are no more to receive laws from them, than we desire to impose any upon them. In short, the church of England is free, is orthodox: she has a plenary authority within herself, and has no need to recur to any other church to direct her what to retain, or what to do. Nor will we, otherwise than in a brotherly way, and in a full equality of right and power, ever consent to have any treaty with that of France. And therefore, if they mean to deal with us, they must lay down this for the foundation, that we are to deal with one another upon equal terms. If, consistently with our own establishment, we can agree upon a closer union with one another, well: if not, we are as much, and upon as good grounds, a free independent church, as they are. And, for myself, as archbishop of Canterbury,

I have more power, larger privileges, and a greater authority, than any of their archbishops: from which, by the grace of God, I will not depart—no, not for the sake of an union with them.

You see, Sir, what my sense of this matter is; and may perhaps think that I have a little altered my mind since this affair was first set on foot. As to my desire of peace and union with all other Christian churches, I am still the same: but with the doctor's commonitorium I shall never comply. The matter must be put into another method; and, whatever they think, they must alter some of their doctrines, and practices too, or an union with them can never be effected. Of this, as soon as I have a little more leisure, I shall write my mind as inoffensively as I can to them, but yet freely too.

If any thing is to come of this matter, it will be the shortest method I can take of accomplishing it, to put them in the right way. If nothing (as I believe nothing will be done in it), 'tis good to leave them under a plain knowlege of what we think of ourselves and our church, and to let them see, that we neither need nor seek the union proposed, but for their sake as well as our own; or rather neither for theirs nor ours; but in order to the promotion of a catholic communion (as far as is possible) among all the true churches of Christ.

I have now plainly opened my mind to you: you will communicate no more of it than is fitting to the two doctors, but keep it as a testimony of my sincerity in this affair; and that I have no design, but what is consistent with the honour and freedom of our English church, and with the security of that true and sound doctrine which is taught in it, and from which no consideration shall ever make me depart. I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate friend

and brother,

W. CANT.

No. IV.

FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Oct. 8, 1718.

WHATEVER be the consequence of our corresponding with the Sorbonne doctors about matters of religion, the present situation of our affairs plainly seems to make it necessary for us so to do. Under this apprehension I have written, though with great difficulty, two letters to your two doctors, which I have sent to the secretary's office, to go with the next pacquet to my lord Stair. I beg you to enquire after them; they made up together a pretty thick pacquet, directed to you. In that to Dr. Du-Pin, I have, in answer to two of his MSS., described the method of making bishops in our church. I believe he will be equally both pleased and surprised with it. I wish you could shew him the form of consecration, as it stands in the end of your large common prayer-books. The rest of my letters, both to him and Dr. Piers, is a venture which I know not how they will take, to convince them of the necessity of embracing the present opportunity of breaking off from the pope, and going one step farther than they have yet done in their opinion of his authority, so as to leave him only a primacy of place and honour; and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the imperial city. I hope they both shew you my letters: they are at this time very long, and upon a nice point. I shall be very glad if you can any way learn how they take the freedom I have used, and what they really think of it. I cannot so much trust to their answers, in which they have more room to conceal their thoughts, and seldom want to overwhelm me with more compliments than I desire, or am well able to bear.

Pray do all you can to search out their real sense of, and motions at the receipt of these two letters; I shall thereby be able the better to judge how far I

may venture hereafter to offer any thing to them upon the other points in difference between us; though after all, I still think, if ever a reformation be made, it is the state that must govern the church in it. But this between ourselves.

No. V.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. DU-PIN, DATED OCTOBER 1, 1718.

Spectatissimo Viro, eruditorum suæ gentis, si non et sui sæculi principi; D^no^. L. Ell. Du-Pin, Doctori Parisiensi.

Gul. prov. div. Cant. Arch^i^. in omnibus ευφρονεῖν και ευπράττειν.

Diu est, amplissime Domine, ex quo debitor tibi factus sum ob plures tractatus MSS. quos tuo beneficio a dilecto mihi in Christo D. Beauvoir accepi. Perlegi diligenter omnes, nec sine fructu: plurima quippe ab iis, cognitu dignissima, vel primùm didici, vel clariùs intellexi; beatamque his difficillimis temporibus censeo ecclesiam Gallicanam, quæ talem sibi in promptu habeat doctorem, in dubiis consiliarium, in juribus suis tuendis advocatum; qui et possit et audeat, non modo contra suos vel erroneos vel perfidos symmystas dignitatem ejus tueri, sed et ipsi summo pontifici (ut olim B. Apostolus Paulus Petro) in faciem resistere, quia reprehensibilis est. Atque utinam hæc quæ jam Romæ aguntur, tandem aliquando omnibus vobis animum darent ad jura vestra penitùs asserenda! Ut deinceps non ex pragmaticis (ut olim) sanctionibus, non (ut hoc ferè tempore) ex concordatis, non ex præjudicatis hominum opinionibus, res vestras agatis; sed eâ authoritate quâ decet ecclesiam tam illustris ac præpotentis imperii; quæ nullo jure, vel divino, vel humano, alteri olim aut ecclesiæ aut homini subjicitur; sed ipsa jus habet intra se sua negotia terminandi, et in omnibus, sub rege suo Christianissimo, populum suum commissum propriis suis legibus et sanctionibus gubernandi.

Expergiscimini itaque, viri eruditi; et quod ratio postulat, nec refragatur religio, strenuè agite. Hoc bonorum subditorum erga regem suum officium, Christianorum erga episcopos suos, heu! nimiùm extraneorum tyrannide oppressos, pietas exigit, flagitat, requirit. Excutite tandem jugum istud, quod nec patres vestri, nec vos ferre potuistis. Hic ad reformationem non prætensam, sed veram, sed justam, sed necessariam ecclesiæ nostræ, primus fuit gradus. Quæ Cæsaris erant, Cæsari reddidimus; quæ Dei, Deo. Coronæ imperiali regni nostri suum suprematum, episcopatui suam αξιαν, ecclesiæ suam libertatem restituit, vel eo solùm nomine semper cum honore memorandus, rex Henricus VIII. Hæc omnia sub pedibus conculcaverat idem ille tunc nobis, qui jam vobis inimicus. Sæpiùs authoritas papalis intra certos fines legibus nostris antea fuerat coërcita; et iis quidem legibus, quas siquis hodie inspiceret, impossibile ei videretur eas potuisse, aliquâ vel vi vel astutiâ, perrumpere. Sed idem nobis accidit quod illis, qui dæmoniacum vinculis ligare voluere. Omnia frustrà tentata: nihil perfecere inania legum repagula, contra nescio quos prætextus potestatis divinæ nullis humanis constitutionibus subditæ. Tandem defatigato regno dura necessitas sua jura tuendi oculos omnium aperuit. Proponitur quæstio episcopis ac clero in utriusque provinciæ synodo congregatis, an episcopus Romanus in sacris scripturis habeat aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in regno Angliæ quàm quivis alius externus episcopus? In partem sanam, justam, veram, utriusque concilii suffragia concurrêre. Quod episcopi cum suo clero statuerant, etiam regni academiæ calculo suo approbârunt, rex cum parliamento sancivit; adeoque tandem, quod unicè fieri poterat, sublata penitùs potestas, quam nullæ leges, nulla jura, vel civilia vel ecclesiastica, intra debitos fines unquam poterant continere. En nobis promptum ac paratum exemplum; quod sequi vobis gloriosum, nec minus posteris vestris utile fuerit! Quo solo pacem, absque veritatis dispendio,

tueri valeatis, ac irridere bruta de Vaticano fulmina, quæ jumdudum ostenditis vobis non ultra terrori esse, utpote à sacris scripturis edoctis, quod *maledictio absque causâ prolata non superveniet.* Prov. xxvi. 2.

State ergo in libertate quâ Christus vos donaverit. Frustra ad concilium generale nunquam convocandum res vestras refertis. Frustra decretorum vim suspendere curatis, quæ ab initio injusta, erronea, ac absurda, ac plane nulla erant. Non talibus subsidiis vobis opus est. Regiâ permissione, authoritate suâ a Christo commissâ, archiepiscopi et episcopi vestri in concilium nationale coëant: academiarum, cleri, ac præcipuè utrorumque principis theologicæ facultatis Parisiensis, consilium atque auxilium sibi assumant: sic muniti quod æquum et justum fuerit decernant: quod decreverint etiam civili authoritate firmandum curent: nec patiantur factiosos homines aliò res vestras vocare, aut ad judicem appellare qui nullam in vos authoritatem exposcere debeat, aut, si exposcat, meritò a vobis recusari et poterit et debuerit.

Ignoscas, vir πολυμαθέστατε, indignationi dicam an amori meo, si forte aliquanto ultrà modum commoveri videar ab iis quæ vobis his proximis annis acciderint. Veritatem Christi omni quâ possum animi devotione colo. Hanc vos tuemini: pro hac censuras pontificias subiistis, et porrò ferre parati estis.

Ille, qui se pro summo ac ferè unico Christi vicario venditat, veritatem ejus sub pedibus proterit, conculcat. Justitiam veneror: ac proinde vos injustè, ac planè tyrannicè, si non oppressos, at petitos, at comminatos; at ideo solum non penitùs obrutos, subversos, prostratos, quia Deus furori ejus obicem posuit, nec permiserit vos in ipsius manus incidere; non possum non vindicare, et contra violentum oppressorem, meum qualecunque suffragium ferre.

Jura ac libertates inclyti regni, celeberrimæ ecclesiæ, præstantissimi cleri cum honore intueor. Hæc

papa reprobat, contemnit; et, dum sic alios tractat, merito se aliis castigandum, certè intra justos fines coërcendum, exhibet. Siquid ei potestatis supra alios episcopos Christus commiserit, proferantur tabulæ; jus evincatur; cedere non recusamus.

Siquam prærogativam ecclesiæ concilia sedis imperialis episcopo concesserint (etsi cadente imperio, etiam eâ prærogativâ excidisse merito possit censeri); tamen quod ad me attinet, servatis semper regnorum juribus, ecclesiarum libertatibus, episcoporum dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me licet, suo fruatur, qualicunque primatu: non ego illi locum primum, non inanem honoris titulum invideo. At in alias ecclesias dominari; episcopatum, cujus partem Christus unicuique episcopo in solidum reliquit, tantum non in solidum sibi soli vindicare; siquis ejus injustæ tyrannidi sese opposuerit, cœlum ac terram in illius perniciem commovere; hæc nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis. In hoc pacis fundamento si inter nos semel conveniatur, in cæteris aut idem sentiemus omnes, aut facilè alii aliis dissentiendi libertatem absque pacis jacturâ concedemus.

Sed abripit calamum meum nescio quis Ἐνθουσιασμὸς, dum de vestris injuriis nimiùm sum solicitus; et forte liberiùs quàm par esset de his rebus ad te scripsisse videbor.

Ego verò uti ea omnia, quæ tu in tuo commonitorio exaraveris, etiam illa in quibus ab invicem dissentimus, grato animo accipio; ita ut apertè, ut candidè, et absque omni fuco porrò ad me scribere pergas, eâque παῤῥησίᾳ quâ amicum cum amico agere deceat, imprimis a te peto; eo te mihi amiciorem fore existimans, quo simpliciùs, quo planiùs, quicquid censueris, liberè dixeris.

Nec de commonitorio tuo amplius aliquid hoc tempore reponam; in quo cum plurima placeant, tum id imprimis, quod etiam tuo judicio, non adeo longe ab invicem distemus, quin si de fraternâ unione ineundâ publicâ aliquando authoritate deliberari contigerit, via facile inveniri poterit ad pacem

inter nos stabiliendam, salvâ utrinque ecclesiæ catholicæ fide ac veritate.

Quod ad alteros tuos tractatus de constitutione episcoporum in ecclesiis vacantibus, siquidem papa, legitimè requisitus, facultates suas personis a rege nominatis obstinate pernegaverit; in iis sane reperio quod non tuâ eruditione et judicio sit; quare, ne prorsus ἀσυμβολος discedam, ordinem tibi breviter delineabo constituendi episcopos in hâc reformatâ nostrâ ecclesiâ.

Tu judicabis, an aliquid magis canonicè vel excogitari vel statui potuerit.

No. VI.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. P. PIERS GIRARDIN, WRITTEN IN OCTOBER 1718.

Præstantissimo Viro, consummatissimo Theologo, D^no^ Patricio Piers de Girardin, sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis Theologiæ Doctori.

Gul. prov. div. Cant. Arch^s^. Gratiam, Pacem, ac Salutem in Domino.

Post prolixiores epistolas eruditissimo confratri tuo D^no^ D^ri^ Du-Pin hoc ipso tempore exaratas; quasque ego paulo minùs tuas quàm illius existimari, velim; faciliùs a te veniam impetrabo, vir spectatissime, si aliquanto brevius ad te rescribam; et in illis quidem animi mei vel amori vel indignationi liberè indulsi; eâque simplicitate, quâ decet Christianum, et maxime episcopum, quid vobis, meâ saltem sententiâ, factu opus sit, apertè exposui. Siquid, vel tuo vel illius judicio, asperius quàm par esset a me exciderit, cum vestri causâ adeo commotus fuerim, facile id homini tam benevolè erga vos animato, uti spero, condonabitis: unaque reminiscemini, nullam unquam vobis stabilem inter vos pacem, aut catholicam cum aliis unionem, haberi posse, dum aliquid ultrà merum honoris primatum ac προεδρίαν

pontifici Romano tribuitis. Hoc nos per aliquot sæcula experti sumus; vos jam sentire debetis, qui, nescio quo insano ipsius beneficio, adeo commodam occasionem nacti estis, non tam ab illius decretis appellandi, quàm ab ipsius dominio ac potestate vos penitùs subducendi. Ipse vos pro schismaticis habet; qualem vos eum censere debetis. Ipse a vestrâ communione se suosque separandos publicè denunciat. Quid vobis in hoc casu faciendum? Liceat mihi veteris illius Cæsareæ episcopi Firmiliani verbis respondere; sic olim Stephanum papam acriter quidem, sed non ideo minus juste, castigavit: *Vide quâ imperitiâ reprehendere audeas eos qui contra mendacium pro veritate nituntur. Peccatum verò quàm magnum tibi exaggerâsti, quando te a tot gregibus scidisti: excidisti enim te ipsum, noli te fallere; siquidem ille est vere schismaticus qui se a communione ecclesiasticâ unitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstineri posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti.* Cypr. Op. Epist. 75.

Agite ergo, viri eruditi, et quo vos divina providentia vocat, libenter sequimini. Clemens papa vos abdicavit; a suâ et suorum communione repulit, rejecit. Vos illius authoritati renunciate. Cathedræ Petri, quæ in omnibus catholicis ecclesiis conservatur, adhærete: etiam nostram ne refugiatis communionem; quibuscum si non in omnibus omninò doctrinæ Christianæ capitibus conveniatis, at in præcipuis, at in fundamentalibus, at in omnibus articulis fidei ad salutem necessariis, planè consentitis; etiam in cæteris, uti speramus, brevi consensuri. Nobis certè eo minus vos vel hæreticos vel schismaticos fore confidite, quod à papâ ejecti pro hæreticis et schismaticis Romæ æstimemini. Sed contrahenda vela, nec indulgendum huic meo pro vobis zelo, etsi sit secundùm scientiam. Prudentibus loquor; vos ipsi, quod dico, judicate.

Ad literas tuas, præstantissime Domine, redeo; in quibus uti tuum de mediocritate meâ judicium, magis ex affectu erga me tuo, quàm secundùm me-

rita mea prolatum, gratanter accipio, ita in eo te nunquam falli patiar, quod me pacis ecclesiasticæ amantissimum credas, omniaque illi consequendæ danda putem, præter veritatem. Quantum ad illam promovendam tu jamjam contuleris, ex sex illis propositionibus quas tuis inseruisti literis, gratus agnosco: ac nisi ambitiosè magis quàm hominem privatum deceat, me facturum existimarem, etiam eruditissimis illis confratribus tuis doctoribus Sorbonicis, quibus priores meas literas communicâsti, easdem per te gratias referrem. Sanè facultas vestra Parisiensis, uti maximum in his rebus pondus meritò habere debeat, sive numerum, sive dignitatem, sive denique eruditionem suorum membrorum spectemus; ita a vobis exordium sumere debebit unio illa inter nos tantopere desiderata, siquidem eam aliquando iniri voluerit Deus.

Interim gratulor vobis post illustrissimum card. Noaillium, alterum illum ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, fidei catholicæ, columnam et ornamentum, procuratorem regium D. D. Joly de Fleury; quem virum ego non jam primum ex tuis literis debito prosequi honore didici, verum etiam ob ea quæ vestri causâ his proximis annis publicè egerit, anteà suspicere, et penè venerari, consueveram. Sub his ducibus, quid non sperandum in publicum vestrum ac catholicæ ecclesiæ commodum? Intonet de Vaticano pontifex Romanus; fremant inter vos ipsos conjurata turba, Romanæ curiæ servi magis quàm suæ Galliæ fideles subditi. His præsidiis ab eorum injuriis tuti, vanas eorum iras contemnere valeatis.

Ego vero, uti omnia vobis publicè fausta ac felicia precor, ita tibi, spectatissime vir, me semper addictissimum fore promitto. De quo quicquid aliàs senseris, id saltem ut de me credas jure postulo; me sincerè veritatem Christi et amare et quærere, et, nisi omninò me fallat animus, etiam assecutum esse. Nulli Christiano inimicus antehac aut fui aut deinceps sum futurus: sic de erroribus eorum, qui a me dissident, judico, ut semper errantes Deo judicandos

relinquam. Homo sum, errare possum; sic verò animatus audacter dicam, hæreticus esse nolo. Te verò, siquidem id permittas, fratrem; sin id minus placeat, saltem id indulgebis, ut me verè et ex animo profitear, excellentissime Domine, tui amantissimum.

W. C.

No. VII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Nov. 6, O. S. 1718.

YOUR last letter gives me some trouble, but more curiosity. I little thought, when I wrote to your two doctors, that my letters should have been read, much less copies of them given to any such great persons as you mention. I write in haste, as you know, and trust no amanuensis to copy for me, because I will not be liable to be betrayed. And upon a review of my foul, and only copy of them, since I had your account from Paris, I find some things might have been more accurately expressed, had I taken more time to correct my style. But I wish that may be the worst exception against them: I fear the freedom I took in exhorting them to do somewhat in earnest, upon so fair a provocation, with regard to the papal authority, though excused as well as I could, will hardly go down so effectually as I could wish with them. This raises my curiosity to know truly and expressly how that part of my letters operated on both your doctors; which, by a wary observation, you may in good measure gather from their discourse. I cannot tell whether they shewed my letters to you; if they did, I am sure you will think I did not mince the matter with them in that particular.

Of your two doctors, Dr. Piers seems the more polite: he writes elegantly both for style and matter, and has the free air, even as to the business of an

union. Yet I do not despair of Dr. Du-Pin, whom, thirty years ago, in his collection of tracts relating to church discipline, I did not think far from the kingdom of God.

No. VIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Nov. 18, 1718.

AT present, my more particular curiosity leads me to know the sentiments of the leading men in France with regard to the court of Rome; from which, if we could once divide the Gallican church, a reformation in other matters would follow of course. The scheme that seems to me most likely to prevail, is, to agree in the independence (as to all matters of authority) of every national church on any others; and in their right to determine all matters that arise within themselves; and, for points of doctrine, to agree, as far as possible, in all articles of any moment (as in effect we either already do, or easily may); and, for other matters, to allow a difference, till God shall bring us to an union in those also. One only thing should be provided for, to purge out of the public offices of the church such things as hinder a perfect communion in the service of the church, that so, whenever any come from us to them, or from them to us, we may all join together in prayers and the holy sacraments with each other. In our liturgy there is nothing but what they allow, save the single rubric relating to the eucharist; in theirs nothing but what they agree may be laid aside, and yet the public offices be never the worse or more imperfect for want of it. Such a scheme as this, I take to be a more proper ground of peace, at the beginning, than to go to more particulars; if in such a foundation we could once agree, the rest would be more easily built upon it. If you find occasion, and that it may be of use, you may extract this object, and offer it to

their consideration, as what you take to be my sense in the beginning of a treaty; not that I think we shall stop here, but that, being thus far agreed, we shall the more easily go into a greater perfection hereafter. I desire you to observe, as much as you can, when it is I may the most properly write to the doctors. I took the subject of the pope's authority in my last, as arising naturally from the present state of their affairs, and as the first thing to be settled in order to an union. How my freedom in that respect has been received, I desire you freely to communicate.

No. IX.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Dec. 2, O. S. 1718.

I AM glad the two doctors seem to receive my last letters so well. The truth is, that while they manage as they do with the court of Rome, nothing will be done to any purpose. And all ends in trifling at the last. We honestly deny the pope all authority over us: they pretend, in words, to allow him so much as is consistent with what they call their Gallican privileges; but let him ever so little use it contrary to their good liking, they protest against it, appeal to a general council, and then mind him as little as we can do. In earnest, I think we treat his holiness not only with more sincerity, but more respect than they: for, to own a power, and yet keep a reserve to obey that power only so far, and in such cases as we make ourselves judges of, is a greater affront, than honestly to confess that we deny the power, and, for that reason, refuse to obey it. But my design was partly to bring them to this, and partly to see how they would bear, at least the proposal, of totally breaking off from the court and bishop of Rome.

What you can observe, or discover more of their inclinations in this particular, will be of good use;

especially if it could be found out what the court would do, and how far that may be likely to countenance the clergy in such a separation. In the mean time, it cannot be amiss to cultivate a friendship with the leading men of that side, who may in time be made use of to the good work of reforming in earnest the Gallican church. I am a little unhappy that I have none here I yet dare trust with what I do; though I am satisfied most of our high-church bishops and clergy would readily come into such a design. But these are not men either to be confided in, or made use of, by

Your assured friend,

W. CANT.

P. S. Did cardinal de Noailles know what authority the archbishop of Canterbury has gotten by the reformation, and how much a greater man he is now than when he was the pope's *legatus natus*, it might encourage him to follow so good a pattern, and be assured (in that case) he would lose nothing by sending back his cardinal's cap to Rome. I doubt your doctors know little of these matters.

No. X.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Jan. 23, O. S. 1718.

WHEN you see my letter (for I conclude the doctor will shew it you), you may do well to bring on the discourse of our episcopal rights and privileges in England, and particularly of the prerogatives of the archbishop of Canterbury, which, I believe, are greater than those of the archbishop of Rheims, or of all the archbishops in France. This may raise in them a curiosity to know more of this matter, which if they desire, I will take the first little leisure I have to give them a more particular account of it. We must deal with men in their own way, if we

mean to do any good with them. They have been used to a pompous ministry, and, like the Jews heretofore, would despise the Messiah himself if he should come in a poor and low estate to them. And therefore, though, for myself, I account all temporal grandeur as nothing, and am afraid it has rather hurt the church of Christ, and the true spirit of piety and religion, than done any real service to either; yet it may be the means of disposing these gentlemen to a more favourable thought of, and inclination towards a reformation; to convince them that they may return to the truth of Christianity, and leave the corruptions of Rome, without losing any honor, any power, that a servant of Christ would desire to be troubled withal. Had the first reformers in France yielded to this scheme, as we in England shewed them an example, the whole Gallican church had come in to them, and been at this day as we are now: we must therefore hit off the blot which they made, and satisfy their ambition so far as to shew them that they may reform, without giving up either their authority or revenues, and be still as great, but much better bishops, under our circumstances, than under their own.

As to the pope's authority, I take the difference to be only this; that we may all agree (without troubling ourselves with the reason) to allow him a primacy of order in the episcopal college. They would have it thought necessary to hold communion with him, and allow him a little canonical authority over them, as long as he will leave them to prescribe the bounds of it. We fairly say we know of no authority he has in our realm; but for actual submission to him, they as little mind it as we do.

At present he has put them out of his communion; we have withdrawn ourselves from his; both are out of communion with him, and I think it is not material on which side the breach lies.

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No. XI.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Feb. 5, 1718-19, O. S.

I DO not doubt that mine of the 18th of January, with the two inclosed for my lord Stair and Dr. Du-Pin, are before this come safe to you. I should not be sorry if, upon this late transaction between the doctor and ministry, you have kept it in your hands, and not delivered it to him. I had just begun a letter to Dr. Piers, but have thrown aside what I writ of it, since I received your last; and must beg the favor of you to make my excuse to him, with the tenders of my hearty service, till I see a little more what the meaning of this present inquisition is. I am not so unacquainted with the finesses of courts, as not to apprehend, that what is now done may be as well in favor of the doctor's attempt, as against it. If the *procureur-general* be indeed well affected to it, he might take this method, not only to his own security, but to bring the affair under a deliberation, and give a handle to those whom it chiefly concerns, to discover their sentiments of it. But the matter may be also put to another use, and nobody can answer that it shall not be so: and till I see what is the meaning of this sudden turn, I shall write no more letters for the French ministry to examine, but content myself to have done enough already to men who cannot keep their own counsel, and live in a country where even the private correspondence of learned men with one another must be brought to a public enquiry, and be made the subject of a state inquisition. I am not aware, that in any of my letters there is one line that can give a just offence to the court. I always took it for granted, that no step should be taken toward an union, but with the knowlege and approbation, and even by the authority of civil powers; and indeed if I am in the right,

that nothing can be done to any purpose in this case but by throwing off the pope's authority, as the first step to be made in order to it, it is impossible for any such attempt to be made by any power less than the king's. All therefore that has passed hitherto, stands clear of any just exception as to the civil magistrate; it is only a consultation, in order to find out a way how an union might be made, if a fit occasion should hereafter be offered for the doing of it. Yet still I do not like to have my letters exposed in such a manner, though satisfied there is nothing to be excepted against in them; and think I shall be kind to the doctors themselves, to suspend, at least for a while, my farther troubling of them. I hope you will endeavour, by some or other of your friends, to find out the meaning of this motion; from whom it came; how far it has gone; what was the occasion of it; and what is like to be the consequence of it; what the abbé Du-Bois says of my letters, and how they are received by him and the other ministers. I shall soon discover whether any notice has been taken of it to our ministry; and I should think, if the abbé spoke to your lord about it, he would acquaint you with it.

No. XII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Feb. 24, 1718.

I DO not at all wonder that the cardinals Rohan and Bissi should do all they can to blacken the good cardinal de Noailles, and in him the party of the Anti-Constitutionists, but especially the Sorbonne, their most weighty and learned adversaries; and I am sensible that such a complaint is not only the most proper to do this, but to put the court itself under some difficulties, which way soever it acts upon it. But I am still the more curious to learn, if it were possible, not only the proceedings of the ministry above board hereupon, but their private

thoughts and opinions about it. I am under no concern upon my own account, farther than that I would be unwilling to have my letters scanned by so many great men, which will scarcely bear the judgement of my very friends. You must do me the favor to get out of your doctors what will be most obliging to them, whether to continue to write to them, or to be silent for a while, till we see what will be the effect of this enquiry. In the mean time, it grows every day plainer what I said from the beginning, that no reformation can be made but by the authority, and with the concurrence of the court; and that all we divines have to do, is to use our interest to gain them to it, and to have a plan ready to offer to them, if they would be prevailed upon to come into it.

I am at present engaged in two or three other transactions of moment to the foreign protestants, which take up abundance of my time; God knows what will be the effect of it. Nevertheless, if I can in any way help to promote this, though I am at present without any help, alone, in this project, I shall do my utmost, both to keep up my poor little interest with the two doctors and their friends, and to concert proper methods with them about it. The surest way will be, to begin as well, and to go as far as we can, in settling a friendly correspondence one with another; to agree to own each other as true brethren, and members of the catholic Christian church; to agree to communicate in every thing we can with one another (which, on their side, is very easy, there being nothing in our offices, in any degree, contrary to their own principles); and would they purge out of theirs what is contrary to ours, we might join in the public service with them, and yet leave one another in the free liberty of believing transubstantiation or not, so long as we did not require any thing to be done by either in pursuance of that opinion. The Lutherans do this very thing; many of them communicate not only in prayers, but in the

communion with us; and we never enquire whether they believe consubstantiation, or even pay any worship to Christ as present with the elements, so long as their outward actions are the same with our own, and they give no offence to any with their opinions.

P. S. Since this last accident, and the public noise of an union at Paris, I have spoken something more of it to my friends here, who, I begin to hope, will fall in with it. I own a correspondence, but say not a tittle how far, or in what way, I have proceeded, more than that letters have passed, which can no longer be a secret. I have never shewn one of my own or the doctors to any body.

No. XIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

March 16, S. V. 1718.

I THANK you for your account of what passed between Mons. Hop and you, relating to the project of an union: I doubt that gentleman will not be pleased with it; because, indeed, the Gallican church will never unite with any church that has not an orderly episcopacy in it. I am very sorry my poor letters are made so public. The next thing will be, that either the imprudence of our friends, or the malice of our enemies, will print them; and then I shall have censures enough for them, perhaps some reflections printed upon them, or answers made to them; but this shall not engage me in any defence of them, or in taking any farther notice of them. I beg you to keep those I have written to yourself from all view; for I have no copies of them, and I wrote them as I do my other ordinary letters, without any great thought or consideration, more than what my subject (as I was writing) led me in that instant to. This is the liberty to be taken with a friend,

where one is sure what he writes shall go no farther; but, for the same reason, will require the strictest suppression from any other view. I cannot yet guess what this turn means, nor how it will end: I wish your doctors could give you some farther light into it.

P. S. I entreat you never to forget me to the two good doctors, whom I love and honor: keep up the little interest I have with them. As soon as ever the present turn is over, I will write to Dr. Girardin. I hope my letters will not always be carried as criminals before the secretary of state, though I am persuaded he bears no ill-will to me.

No. XIV.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE, TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

April 29, 1718.

I AM much concerned to hear that Dr. Du-Pin decays so fast: I feared by his last letter that he was sinking apace. Pray, is there any good print of him taken these last years? for I have one that was made when he was a young man. I am sorry Dr. Piers grows faint-hearted: I never thought any thing could be done as to a reformation in France, without the authority of the court; but I was in hopes the regent and others might have found their account in such an attempt; and then the good disposition of the bishops, clergy, and Sorbonne, with the parliament of Paris, would have given a great deal of spirit and expedition to it. I have done what was proper for me in that matter: I can now go no farther, till the abbot Du-Bois is better disposed; yet I shall still be pleased to keep up a little esteem between those gentlemen, which will do *us* some good, if it does not do *them* any service. I am apt to think, the good old man (Du-Pin) does not think us far from the kingdom of heaven. I have with this sent a letter of friendship to Dr. Piers, which you will be so kind as to send him, with my kind respects.

No. XV.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. DU-PIN, DATED LAMBETH, MAY 1, 1719.

N. B. Du-Pin was dead before it arrived at Paris.

SPERAVERAM equidem tuâ auctoritate, constantiâ, eruditione, pietate, moderatione, quæ omnia adeò in te perfecta esse noscuntur, ut vix in aliis singula, præclari aliquid ad Dei gloriam, ecclesiæque Gallicanæ utilitatem, perfici potuisse. Crediderim advenisse tempus, in quo, excusso Romanæ tyrannidis jugo, unà nobiscum in eandem communionem coalesceretis. In dogmatibus, prout à te candidè proponuntur, non admodùm dissentimus: in regimine ecclesiastico minus: in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam sive disciplinam spectemus, vix omninò. Quàm facilis erat ab his initiis ad concordiam progressus, modò animos haberemus ad pacem compositos! Sed hoc principibus seculi non arridet, unionis inimicis etiam plurimum displicet: neque nobis fortè dabit Deus esse tam felicibus, ut ad hujusmodi unionem nostram qualemcunque operam conferamus. Relinquamus hoc illi, in cujus manu sunt rerum omnium tempora et occasiones. Sufficiat voluisse aliquid in tam insigni opere, fortè et semina in terram projecisse, quæ fructum tandem multiplicem proferant. Interim, qnod nemo nobis denegare possit, nos invicem ut fratres, ut ejusdem mystici corporis membra, amplectamur.

No. XVI.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Feb. 9, S. V. 1719-20.

I HEARTILY wish there were either spirit or inclination enough in the Sorbonne to go on with our friend the abbé's project; but the fire decays, mens inclinations cool: the court will do nothing, and you

are very sensible, that without the court nothing can be done in any such affair. Nevertheless, their good opinion of the church of Englaud should be kept up as much as possible; we should encourage them all we can to account of us as of brethren, who have only thrown off, what they are weary of, the tyranny of the court of Rome, without any change in any fundamental article, either of the doctrine or government of the catholic church; and upon this ground I shall be ready to continue a brotherly correspondence with any of their great men, provided it be done with such caution, as may not expose my letters to be made prisoners to a secretary of state,—a thing which can never become my character, and may carry an ill aspect, even in our own court, till the thing be rightly understood.

No. XVII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

March 31, 1720.

I THANK you for your account of the present state of the French church. It is a very odd one indeed, but will settle into an agreement at last. When once the appellants begin to break, the court will drive all the *obstinate* (as they will call them; I should name them, the *honest* men, of courage and constancy) to a compliance.

No. XVIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

April 19, O. S. 1720.

I PERCEIVE, by some late letters from him (Piers Girardin), that he begins to despair of the business of the constitution. He has reason: the cardinal de Noailles is ensnared, and has gone too far to retire. The new archbishop of Cambray will be a cardinal; and this affair of the constitution must procure the

calot for him. The regent himself is afraid of the Spanish party, and the Jesuits; and he will gain, or at least appease them. For all these reasons, the doctrine of the church, and the Gallican liberties, must be abandoned; and, on the slight pretence of a comm^{t}. of no esteem with the opposite party, an accommodation will certainly be made; and those who will not voluntarily go, shall be driven into it. If our poor friend be one of those who must hereby suffer, why may he not consider of a retreat hither, and, since he cannot yet bring on an union with the two churches, unite himself with ours, from which I am sure his principles, and I believe his inclinations, are not greatly distant? But this must be managed very tenderly, and rather by a kind of rallying, than a direct proposal of it. If he inclines to it, he will easily understand your meaning; if not, 'tis best not to go on far with him in a matter in which you will have no good success.

No. XIX.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. LE CLERC.

April, 1719.

NOVUM Testamentum Gallicum, notis tuis feliciter ornatum, totum, nec sine fructu, perlegi. Præfatione tuâ eidem præfixâ mirificè affectus sum; legi, relegi, quin et sæpiùs deinceps repetam. Ita me in ipso præsertim ejus initio commovit, ut veræ pietatis in eâ relucentem spiritum nunquam satis laudare possim, vel animo meo satis altè imprimere.

Et quamvis in annotationibus tuis quædam liberiùs dicta occurrant, quæ non æque omnibus placeant, neque mihi ipsi ubique satisfaciant; fero tamen, et vel in ipso tuo a communi sententiâ discessu aliquid mihi invenire videor, quod ignoscere magis quàm acerbiùs reprehendere debeam, multo minùs inclementiùs damnare. Libertatem prophetandi, modo pia ac sobria sit, cum charitate ac mansuetudine con-

juncta, nec contra analogiam fidei semel sanctis traditæ, adeò non vituperandam, ut etiam probandam censeam. De rebus adiaphoris cum nemine contendendum puto. Ecclesias reformatas, etsi in aliquibus a nostrâ Anglicanâ dissentientes, libenter amplector. Optarem equidem regimen episcopale benè temperatum, et ab omni injustâ dominatione sejunctum, quale apud nos obtinet, et, siquid ego in his rebus sapiam, ab ipso apostolorum ævo in ecclesiâ receptum fuerit, et ab iis omnibus fuisset retentum; nec despero quin aliquando restitutum, si non ipse videam, at posteri videbunt. Interim absit ut ego tam ferrei pectoris sim, ut ob ejusmodi defectum (sic mihi absque omni invidiâ appellare liceat) aliquas earum a communione nostrâ abscindendas credam; aut, cum quibusdam furiosis inter nos scriptoribus, eas nulla vera ac valida sacramenta habere, adeòque vix Christianos esse pronuntiem. Unionem arctiorem inter omnes reformatos procurare quovis pretio vellem. Hæc si in regimine ecclesiastico ac publicis ecclesiarum officiis obtineri potuit; aut ego plurimum fallor, aut id solum brevi conduceret ad animorum inter eos unionem conciliandam, et viam sterneret ad plenam in omnibus majoris momenti dogmatibus concordiam stabiliendam. Quantum hoc ad religionis nostræ securitatem conduceret; quantum etiam ad pseudo-catholicorum Romanensium conversionem, cæcus sit qui non videat.—Sed abripuit me longius quàm par esset hæc semper mihi dulcis de pace ac unione ecclesiarum reformatarum cogitatio,—&c.

No. XX.

ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO THE PASTORS AND PROFESSORS OF GENEVA.

8th April, 1719.

QUAMVIS literis vestris nihil mihi gratius potuit afferri, non tamen absque summo dolore, vix oculis siccis, eas perlegi; neque credo quenquam esse tam ferrei pectoris, qui ad ea mala quæ in illis referuntur

non perhorrescat, mireturque talia ab hominibus erga homines, a popularibus erga populares suos, a Christianis denique erga Christianos, idque (quod fidem omnem exuperare valeat) etiam religionis causâ, fieri et perpetrari.

Vos interim, venerandi viri, quod vestri erat officii, sedulo præstitistis. Delegatos ecclesiarum Hungaricarum amicè accepistis. Querimoniam eorum, eâ quâ par erat charitate atque sympathiâ fraternâ audivistis; nullâque morâ adhibitâ, ad remedium malis ipsorum inveniendum omnes vestras cogitationes convertistis. Per illustres magistratus vestros, cæteros reformatæ religionis principes atque senatores, ad persecutiones horum fratrum vestrorum seriò considerandas, excitavistis, et ut suam authoritatem interponerent ad sedandas eorum oppressiones enixissimè obsecrâstis.

Denique, nequid vel minimi ponderis desideretur quo studium vestrum in hoc tam insigni charitatis opere exequendo ostendatis, etiam meâ qualicunque operâ uti voluistis, ad animum augustissimi regis nostri commovendum, ne in hâc tam gravi suâ necessitate afflictis Christi servis deesset.

O amorem vere Christianum! et qualem deceat ejusdem corporis membra erga se invicem habere! Dignum profecto et vobis, et eximio illo vestro congressu, opus; ut quo præcipuè tempore convenistis ad laudes Dei celebrandas, qui per duo jam secula religionem reformatam vobis incolumem servaverit, eodem etiam illam ipsam religionem evangelicam in aliis regionibus oppressam, concussam, ac tantum non extremum quasi spiritum trahentem, sublevetis et si fieri possit, in integrum restituatis.

Ego vero, fratres charissimi, et propriâ voluntate motus, et vestro tam illustri exemplo impulsus, adeo eodem vobiscum ardore accendor, ut nihil non tentandum putem, quo vestris tam piis, tam justis, tamque benignis conatibus optatum successum compararem.

Imprimis igitur nobilem virum comitem Sunderlandiæ primarium regis ministrum sedulò adivi:

literas vestras illi communicavi; petii, oravi, ut in hâc re suam mihi operam utque auxilium concedere vellet; utque simul regiam majestatem adiremus; non quod de ipsius promptâ voluntate dubitarem, sed ut quæ in hâc causâ facienda essent, eo majori vigore atque promptitudine perficerentur. Successit, ferè ultrà spem, conatus noster. Utriusque ecclesiæ tum Hungaricæ tum vicinæ Vallensis, oppressiones regi, eo quo par erat affectu, exposuimus. Favorem ejus atque authoritatem apud Cæsarem regemque Sardiniæ obnixè imploravimus, ut ab his tam injustis vexationibus, eorum jussu et mandatis, liberentur. Et præcipuè quod ad Pedemontanas ecclesias attinet, etiam adhortati sumus, ut jure suo a rege Sardiniæ postularet, ut pacta in his quæ religionis exercitium concernent, earum gratiâ inita, meliori fide in posterum observentur. Annuit votis nostris rex serenissimus; neque dubito quin legatis suis jamdudum præceperit, ut omnem quam possunt operam suo nomine impendant, quo ab istis adeo iniquis oppressionibus utriusque ecclesiæ membra liberentur. Orandus Deus ut tanti principis conatibus, in hâc tam justâ, tam piâ, tam religioni Christianæ proficuâ interpellatione, aspirare dignetur, et oppressis suis servis exoptatam requiem tandem concedere, pro immensâ suâ misericordiâ, velit.

Interim, dum hæc feliciter, uti spero, peraguntur, ignoscite, fratres dilectissimi, si majoris quidem laboris atque difficultatis, sed longè maximi omnibus commodi, inceptum, vobis proponam; in quo et sæpe alias et hoc tempore complures primariæ dignitatis viri summo studio allaborant; et quod ab omnibus, quibus puritas Evangelii reipsa cordi sit, unà secum allaborandum sperant. Jamdudum sentitis quo mea tendit adhortatio; ad unionem nimirum inter omnes quæ ubique sunt ecclesias, quæ his ultimis seculis a communione, seu veriùs tyrannide pontificis Romani, sese subduxerunt, sedulò promovendam. Quin hoc fieri possit, si quidem animum ad concordiam promptum omnes attulerimus, nullatenus dubitandum est: quin fieri debeat, nemo prudens negaverit, &c. &c.

Vos interim, F. C. hoc agite, ut saltem inter vos ipsos pax atque concordia inviolabiliter conserventur. Summo quippe dolore, anno præterito, accepi dissensiones inter vos ortas fuisse, de capitulis aliquot circa doctrinam de gratiâ universali, aliisque quæstionibus longè difficillimis, in quibus optimi viri et doctissimi theologi idem per omnia haudquaquam sentiunt. Angit hoc sanè, idque non mediocriter, animum meum. Et quamvis nollem vobis videri ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπεῖν, aut in alienam (quod aiunt) messem falcem meam immittere; permittite tamen ut in spiritu charitatis, eoque quo erga vos feror amore fraterno, vos obsecrem, et in Domino obtester, ut in hujusmodi rebus, quatenus id fieri possit, idem sentiatis omnes; quod si id non assequi valeatis, ut saltem sic alii alios feratis, ut nullum sit inter vos schisma, nullus querimoniæ aliquorum adversus alios locus; ut non nimium curiosi sitis in iis determinandis quæ Deus non admodum clarè revelaverit, quæque absque salutis dispendio tutò nesciri poterint; quæ sapientissimi prædecessores nostri, in omnibus suis confessionibus, cautè tractanda censuerunt, eâque moderatione, ut universi in iis subscribendis consentirent; et à quorum prudenti cautelâ sicubi posteà discessum fuerit, contentiones, lites, inimicitiæ, aliaque infinita incommoda, protinus subsecuta sunt.

In his disquisitionibus Lutherani à reformatis dissident; nec reformati ipsi prorsus inter se conveniunt. Ecclesia Anglicana optimo consilio, exemplo ab omnibus imitando, nullius conscientiæ, his in rebus, jugum imponit. Quæ de illis in articulis suis statuerit, talia sunt, ut ab omnibus ex æquo admittantur. His contenta, nec ipsa aliquid amplius requirit curiosiùs statuere. Hinc summa inter nos pax cum sobriâ sentiendi libertate conjuncta. Utinam et vobis, iisdem conditionibus, concordia stabiliatur, utque veteri confessione vestrâ Helveticâ contenti, neque alicui permitteretis aliter docere, neque ab aliquo quidpiam profitendum requireretis, ultrà id quod ab initio requisitum fuerit; cum tamen summi

illi viri Calvinus et Beza (ut de aliis taceatur) secus de his articulis sentirent, quàm alii plures; quos tamen non solùm tolerandos, sed et pro fratribus habendos ritè ac sapienter judicârunt.

Hoc vobis non modò pacem inter vos ipsos conciliabit, verùm etiam concordiam cum aliis ecclesiis reformatis sartam tectam tuebitur. Absque hujusmodi temperamine, unio illa cum Protestantibus, tantopere desiderata, nullo modo iniri poterit: vos, igitur, seriò hæc, ut par est, considerate: nec a nobis, a plerisque aliis reformatis, etiam a vestris antecessoribus, novis ac durioribus impositionibus secedite, &c.

N. B. The former part of this letter, which relates to the intercession of archbishop Wake in behalf of the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, has never been hitherto published. The latter part, beginning with these words, "Interim dum hæc feliciter peraguntur, ignoscite," &c. was inserted, by Professor Turretin of Geneva, in his work entitled, Nubes Testium. The words "Interim dum hæc," &c. were, from an ignorance of their connexion with what goes before, supposed by some learned men to relate to the projected union between the English and Gallican churches; and Kiorning, who says in his Dissertation de Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum, that Dr. Wake communicated this project to the divines of Geneva, fell into this mistake, and probably drew Dr. Mosheim after him.

No. XXI.

EXTRACT FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO PROFESSOR SCHURER, OF BERN, JULY 1718.

De Angliâ nostrâ te peramanter et sentire et scribere plurimùm gaudeo. Quanquam enim non adeò cæcus sim patriæ meæ amator, ut non plurima hîc videam quæ vel penitùs sublata vel in meliùs mutata quovis pretio vellem, tamen aliqua etiam in

hac temporum fæce occurrere, optimis etiam seculis digna, et quæ ipsa primæva ecclesia Christiana probare, ne dicam et laudare, potuisset, et tu æquissimè agnoscis et nos nobis gratulamur.

No. XXII.

TO PROFESSOR TURRETIN, JULY 1718.

Speaking of Bishop Davenant's opinion as agreeable to his own.

UTINAM sic sentiremus omnes, et, fundamentalibus religionis articulis semper salvis, nihil ultrà ab aliquo subscribendum requireremus, quod bonorum hominum conscientiis oneri esse potest, certè ecclesiæ utilitatem parùm promovebit.—Ut enim de hâc ecclesiarum reformatarum utilitate paucis dicam; primum earum stabilimentum in hoc consistere, ut omnes sese, quantùm fieri possit, contra papalem potentiam ac tyrannidem tueantur, nemini credo dubium esse posse. Ut in hunc finem quàm arctissimè inter se uniantur, et in idem corpus coalescant, adeò ut siquid alicui ex iis ecclesiæ damni aut detrimenti à communi hoste fuerit illatum, id ab omnibus tanquàm suum haberetur, concedi etiam necesse est.

Ut denique pax et concordia cujuslibet ecclesiæ reformatæ inter suos, ac cum aliis omnibus ejusmodi ecclesiis conserventur; unicuique viro bono, sed præsertim ecclesiarum illarum magistratibus atque ministris, totis viribus enitendum esse, adeò clarè apparet, ut nullâ probatione firmiori indigeat.

Afterwards:

Quid in hâc re aliud faciendum restat, nisi ut tuâ et amicorum tuorum auctoritate primò facultas vestra theologica, magistratus, ministri, cives Genevenses, deinde eorum exemplo atque hortatu reliqua etiam fœderis Helvetici membra reformata, omnem lapidem moveant, ut pacem ecclesiis Bernensibus restituant? Neque id ego sic fieri vellem, ut non simul et reli-

gionis veritati et doctrinæ puritati consulatur. Subscribant ministri, professores, theologi, confessioni vestræ veteri anno * [ ] editæ: prohibeantur, sub quâvis-libet pœnâ, ne ullam in concionibus, scriptis, thesibus, prælectionibus, sententiam publicè tueantur illi confessioni quovis modo contrariam. Id solum caveatur, ne multiplicentur hujusmodi subscriptiones absque necessitate; neque strictè nimis inquiratur in privatas hominum eruditorum sententias; modo suis opinionibus frui pacificè velint, et neque docendo, neque disputando, neque scribendo, à publicâ confessione secedere, aut errores suos (si tamen errores reverà fuerint) in scandalum cujus-vis, multò magis ecclesiæ aut reipublicæ divulgare.—Habes, vir spectatissime, sententiam meam.

No. XXIII.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO PROFESSOR SCHURER, JULY 1719.

QUÆ de formulâ Consensûs mihi narras, abundè placent, qui, uti nolim laqueum absque causâ injici conscientiis bonorum atque eruditorum hominum, ita neque fræna laxanda censeo quibuscunque novatoribus ad pacem publicè turbandam, eaque vel scribenda vel docenda, quæ viris piis jure scandalum præbeant, quæque confessioni vestræ olim stabilitæ falsitatis notam injuriâ inurere videantur. Intra hos igitur limites si steterint magistratus vestri, neque aliquid amplius a Lausannensibus requirant, nisi ut hoc demùm fine formulæ consensûs subscribant; sperandum est nullum schisma, eâ de causâ, inter vos exoriturum. Pacem publicam tueri, etiam in rebus ad fidem spectantibus, magistratus Christianus et potest et debet. Conscientiis hominum credenda imponere, nisi in rebus claris et perspicuis, et ad salutem omninò necessariis, nec potest, nec debet. Quod si

* The date of the confession of faith is omitted in the archbishop's letter.

contra faciat, subditis tamen semper licebit ad apostolorum exemplar, si quidem aliquid falsi, aut incertæ veritatis, iis subscribendum injunxerint, obedire Deo potiùs quàm hominibus.

No. XXIV.

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO PROFESSOR TURRETIN, IN ANSWER TO ONE FROM HIM, DATED DECEMBER 1, 1718.

RES Bernensium ecclesiasticas nondum penitùs tranquillas esse et doleo et miror; eòque magis, quod hisce temporibus hæ de decretis divinis altercationes ubique ferè alibi ad exitum sint perductæ. Quæ mea sit de iis sententia, nec adhuc cuiquam apertè declaravi, neque, ut deinceps patefaciam, facilè me patiar induci. Hoc apud nos, tum ex mandatis regiis, tum ex diu servatâ (utinam semper servandâ) consuetudine fixum est atque stabilitum, neque à quoquam exquirere quid de his rebus sentiat, modo articulis religionis, publicâ auctoritate constitutis, subscribat; neque in concionibus aut etiam disputationibus theologicis, aliquid amplius de iis determinare, quam quod illi articuli expressè statuant, et ab omnibus ad ministerii munus admittendis profitendum requirant.

Then follows an historical narrative of the rise, and occasion, and censure of the Lambeth articles; as also of the rise and progress of Arminianism under the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and of the subsiding of all disputes of that kind under Charles II.——He then subjoins,

Et quidem illud imprimis observatu dignum æstimo, quàm moderatè, quàm prudenter, in hâc tam difficili disquisitione, optimi illi viri, martyres ac confessores Christi constantissimi, quos Divina Providentia ad reformandam hanc nostram ecclesiam seligere dignatus est, se gesserunt. Non illi curiositati cujusvis

aliquid indulgendum putârunt; non vanis et incertis hominum hypothesibus de decretis divinis alicujus fidem alligare fas esse censuerunt. Sciebant quàm inscrutabilia sint consilia Dei, et quànto intervallo omnes nostras cogitationes exuperent. Ideòque non religiosè minùs quàm sapienter inter justos terminos sese continuerunt; neque in necessariis ad fidem nostram de hisce mysteriis stabiliendam deficientes; neque in non-necessariis determinandis officiosi; unde fortè pro verâ fide errorem, pro pace discordiam, pro fraternâ unione ac charitate divisionem, odia, inimicitias in ecclesiam Christi inducere poterant.

Hæc fuit eorum simplicitas verè evangelica; pietate non minùs quàm sapientiâ commendabilis; eòque magis suspicienda, ac ferè pro divinâ habenda, quod tot annorum experientiâ reperta sit non solùm optimam fuisse pacis ac concordiæ regulam, verùm etiam unicum contra schismata et divisiones remedium.

Speaking afterwards of the Consensus, *he adds:*

Sunt igitur horum articulorum pars maxima illius generis, in quibus ab invicem dissentire nobis omnibus liceat, absque dispendio veritatis; quia sunt ejusmodi de quibus Deus consilium suum non adeò clarè aut præcisè revelaverit, quin etiam eruditissimi atque perspicacissimi viri in suis de iis determinationibus errare possint, aut potiùs nunquam certi esse possunt se non errâsse. Quid vero imprudentius, quid arrogantius, quid denique humilitate, non jam dico Christianorum, sed et hominum non nimium sibi blandientium indignius esset, quàm de rebus adeò obscuris, adeò incertis, adeò inter ipsos ejusdem communionis symmystas adhuc litigatis, distinctè aliquid definire; et ab aliis auferre eam quam nos nobis quasi jure nostro asserimus sentiendi libertatem? O quantum potuit insana φιλαυτία! Et in aliorum conscientias, quam omnes verbis rejicimus, plerique re exerere cupimus, dominandi libido! Benedictus Deus, qui alium plerumque, in hoc nostro orbe, animum indiderit!

No. XXV.

ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO MR. JABLONSKI, IN ANSWER TO THE TWO FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

An de Unione Evangelicorum cum Ecclesiâ Romanâ agendum sit?

Vel,

An omnis eâ de Re Tractatio tanquam periculosa et fallax omninò sit evitanda?

QUOD de fœdere nescio quo cum pontificiis ineundo scribis somniare temerarios quosdam apud vos homines, suæ tranquillitatis magis quàm veritatis amatores; non possum non mirari ecquod inde commodi ecclesiis reformatis proponunt. Adeòne ulli e nostris aut incognita aut inexperta est Romanensium superbia atque tyrannis, ut credatur vel illos a suo fastigio potestatis, ac infallibilitatis, nostri gratiâ, sese dimissuros, vel nos eorum causâ ad servitutem tam diu rejectam ultro iterum redituros? Hoc tam perniciosum, tam infame facinus, ab animis omnium nostrorum longè avertat Deus! Imò potiùs bona, patriam, parentes, omnia relinquamus quàm ut sic inveniamur ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις: (quidni enim ipsis hic apostoli vocibus utar?)

Neque tamen sic intelligi vellem quasi omnem omninò de pace tractatum etiam cum pontificiis refugiendum putarem. Tractemus, si libet, sed, ut decet, cum æqualibus: neque aut nos in illos potestatem indebitam nobis arrogemus, neque illis in nos concedamus. Christiani sunt illi? et nos Christiani. Catholici? et nos Catholici. Errare nos possumus? etiam illi possunt errare. Liberi sunt illi a dominio nostro? neque nos illis ullâ in re subditi sumus. Si igitur cum illis omninò sit agendum, ante omnia necesse fuerit in prævias conditiones tractandi convenire; utque mutuò statuatur, nullum esse inter eos vel inter nos infallibilitatis prærogativam, alterutri

nostrûm a Christo concessam; posse utrinque errari, fortè et utrinque erratum esse. Utrorumque ergo dogmata liberè examinanda, et ad amussim verbi Dei exigenda. Renuntiandum insuper prætensæ auctoritati tum summi quem vocant pontificis, tum ecclesiæ Romanæ in alias Christi ecclesias; ut sic, ab eorum dominatione tuti, ex æquo cum illis agere possimus. De pluribus atque præcipuis doctrinæ Christiânæ capitibus, in quibus utrinque consentimus, nulla lis erit. De cæteris consideretur imprimis quousque invicem concordari valeat; et in quibus nondum in eandem sententiam concurri potest, quæratur porrò, an talia sint, quæ salvâ pace mutuò tolerari nequeant. Si hoc conveniatur, quæratur denique de liturgiâ publicâ, an talem nobis exhiberi curabunt, ut omnes simul ad eundem Dei cultum amicè accedere valeamus. Si qui sint Romanæ ecclesiæ symmystæ adeò æqui, ut his conditionibus sincerè nobiscum agere velint, non video cur ab eorum colloquio abstineamus. Absque hujusmodi stipulatione præmissâ frustra cum iis tractabimus, nisi sub pacis conciliandæ prætextu veritate renuntiare decreverimus.

Habes, vir clarissime, meam qualemcunque hâc de re sententiam; extemporaneam quidem illam, nec pro materiæ dignitate satis ponderatam; sed tamen justam, et, nisi ego plurimum fallor, talem a quâ absque extremo periculo nunquam a nostris discedi possit. Faxit Deus, ut in hisce considerandis non tam nostra quæramus quàm ea quæ sint Jesu Christi! Nec adeò hujus seculi pacem amemus, ut futuri præmia amittamus. Tibi, vir præstantissime, sapientiam, prudentiam, eruditionem non vulgarem, concessit Deus; etiam constantiam in veritate tuendâ, pro quâ tanta et huc usque passus fueris, et deinceps pati te paratum ostendis. Tuo itaque exemplo alios instruas, neque concordiam atque unionem cum ullis Christi discipulis, ubi justis conditionibus iniri possit, pertinaciter refugere; neque iniquis conditionibus stolidè timidève admittere; aut, vanâ spe pacis deliniti, ad servitutis

papalis jugum colla submittere, quod neque nos neque patres nostri ferre potuere. Hoc tam grave scandalum, tam perniciosam prævaricationem ab ecclesiis reformatis ut semper avertat Deus, summo ardore precatur, spectatissime vir, frater tuus in Christo colendissimus, &c.

Maii 22, 1719.

HISTORY
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY;
Forming a continuation of Dr. Mosheim's work.

THE generality of readers, more intent on the consideration of modern affairs than on the contemplation of ancient occurrences, are induced to expect, from historic writers, a much more copious detail of recent than of early transactions. The expectation is natural and reasonable; and it is therefore readily gratified by historians. But, like other rules, this also may be allowed to have an exception. In modern times, the affairs of the church move in a more regular course, and are conducted with far greater tranquillity, than in earlier periods; and hence a narrative of such occurrences may prove less interesting than the ecclesiastical history of many preceding ages, and may consequently require a less minute detail and less frequent reflexion.

Dr. Mosheim, in all probability, if he had lived to the close of the eighteenth century, would have given an elaborate and ample sequel to his valuable history [a]; but the writer who has undertaken to continue that work has neither the leisure nor the inclination to expatiate upon the subject. It would not, per-

[a] Such a conclusion may be drawn from what he says at the beginning of his sketch of that century: 'Sæculi, quod vivimus, 'historia Christiana voluminis, non paginarum paucarum, mate-'ries est, suumque inter posteros scriptorem ingenuum et æquum 'expectat;'—a passage which may be thus translated: The history of the Christian church, during the century in which we live, is the proper subject of a considerable volume, rather than of only a few pages; and it demands from posterity a writer who will pay due attention to it,—a liberal, impartial, and judicious author.

haps, be very difficult for him to fill volumes with a specification of the religious and ecclesiastical affairs of the last century: but he does not conceive that such diffusion is necessary, and he hopes that a concise statement, with incidental remarks, will content his readers.

Those who wish for a copious history of the Christian church during that period, must wait for the exertions of some erudite and able divine, who may have time and patience for the accomplishment of the task.

April 3, 1811. C. COOTE.

CHAPTER I.

History of the Romish Church, during the Eighteenth Century.

THE continued attacks of the Protestants upon the church of Rome had forced the outworks, and weakened the barriers of that establishment: but it still presented a bold front to its assailants, and numbered among its votaries the major part of the inhabitants of Europe. Its greatness was impaired, but not subverted; and it had an imposing, if not a very formidable aspect. The pope's power of interdiction and excommunication had ceased to fill nations with dismay. Some of the potentates of his communion addressed him in a tone which many of his predecessors would not have endured; harassed him with various pretensions, and encroached upon that authority which he deemed legitimate and even divine. Notwithstanding these assaults, he retained some degree of power and a considerable portion of influence, and was supported in the dignity of supreme pontiff by the greatest princes of the continent.

The prelate who occupied this high station at the commencement of that century of which we are now treating, was Clement XI. or John Francis Albani, who, having acquired reputation by his skill in the management of affairs, and being also of a spirited character, had been unanimously chosen by the conclave at a time when the political horizon of Europe threatened a storm. He rejected the offered tiara with a greater appearance of sincerity than that which an English divine usually displays when he says, on the offer of a bishopric, *nolo episcopari;* but his scruples and objections were removed by the arguments, representations, and importunities of the cardinals.

He made a good beginning of administration. He redressed some grievances, discountenanced vice and criminality of every kind, performed acts of beneficence, gave an example of devotional regularity, and filled vacant offices and preferments with men of merit. He then directed his attention to politics, and testified a desire of preventing a war between the king of France and the emperor, on the subject of the Spanish succession. He wrote a letter to each of those princes, exhorting them to accommodate all disputes without rushing into hostilities. They received his advice with professions of respect for his character, but did not suffer it to regulate their conduct. Ambition still inflamed the aged Louis: his thirst of dominion still urged him to send forth his legions, and *wantonly* (for a lust of power was no *sufficient motive*) to shed the blood of his unoffending fellow-creatures. Leopold professed an equal regard for religion, but was equally uninfluenced by justice or humanity.

With respect to the religious principles of these royal sons of the church, we may observe, that they were not animated by true piety, or a genuine spirit of religion. They may have believed the doctrines of Christianity; or, perhaps, they merely affected to give credit to the faith which they found established in their dominions. They attended mass with decorous regularity, witnessed ceremonial observances with a serious and devout aspect, and promoted among their subjects a religious uniformity. But they did not endeavour, like true Christians, to correct their evil propensities, amend their hearts, or reform their lives. They did not study to preserve "peace "upon earth;" they did not cherish "good-will "towards men." Their religion (in the language applied by a respectable historian[a] to William the Conqueror) "prompted them to endow monasteries, "but at the same time allowed them to pillage

[a] George lord Lyttelton.

"kingdoms: it threw them on their knees before a "relic or a cross, but suffered them unrestrained to "trample upon the liberties and the rights of "mankind."

We have no concern with the war into which the rival princes entered, as it is unconnected with the history of the church. It arose from temporal motives, and referred to grand political objects. Both princes promised that, if the war should extend to Italy, the papal territories should remain uninjured and unmolested: but this promise was violated, on the part of Leopold, by the irruption of an Austrian detachment into the province of Ferrara. Clement having bitterly complained of this conduct, the troops retired: but, as they again encroached, he ordered an army to be levied. Louis, and his grandson the new king of Spain, earnestly requested his holiness to enter into an alliance with them, promising great advantages not only to the holy see, but to the pontiff himself, as the price of his condescension. He had no wish to take part with either of the contending families, and therefore refused to accede to the confederacy. A report was propagated of his assent to the offered terms; and it derived strength from the appearance of the duke of Berwick at Rome; but that nobleman was merely sent from France by the royal exile, James II., to congratulate Albani on his elevation to the papal throne.

Unable to check the rage of war, the pope soothed his anxiety, and gratified his religious zeal, by promoting the diffusion of the catholic faith. He even expressed a wish that he could visit the remotest parts of the globe for that pious and salutary purpose, and affected to lament his inability of accomplishing his desire. Contracting his views, he contented himself with sending legates into various regions, particularly into Persia, India, and China, to support and extend the interests of Christianity: but the success of these heralds of the Gospel did not correspond with the wishes of the religious world.

We are informed, however, that his entreaties and expostulations procured, for the catholics of Thrace, Armenia, and Syria, a respite from Mohammedan persecution, and an allowance of the free exercise of their religion [b]. This freedom, however, was occasionally interrupted and disturbed by the brutality of furious infidels, and the animosity of barbarian zealots.

The legate upon whom he chiefly depended, for the success of the eastern mission, was Maillard de Tournon, who was ready to encounter every danger in the cause of Christianity. This missionary visited India and China with a weak and declining frame, but with a heart full of pious zeal. He introduced himself to the Chinese emperor at Pekin; was politely received, and complimented with various presents; and was gratified with permission to preach the Gospel, and expound the doctrines of the catholic faith. The imperial potentate, however, did not mean that this permission should so far operate, as to authorise the legate and his associates to oppose the prevalence of popular institutions and ceremonies, sanctioned by long practice. Unwilling to make any concessions to the prejudices of paganism, Tournon loudly exclaimed against the idolatrous usages of the Chinese, and sharply reproved the ministers of state and of religion, for suffering the continuance of such degrading absurdities. By this freedom he gave great offence to the court; and he was even accused of treason against the emperor. Defying the odium which he considered as unmerited, he proceeded in his pious career, until he was banished from the capital, in 1707, and sent to the island of Macao, where he was imprisoned with five of his fellow-missionaries. Admiring his undaunted zeal, the pope elevated him to the dignity of a cardinal; an honor which he declared he would not accept, if he should

[b] Guarnacci, Vit. et Res Gest. Pontificum Romanorum et Cardinalium, usque ad Clementem XII. tom. ii. p. 7.

be expected to relinquish his mission; for he was prepared to suffer every inconvenience, and undergo every species of persecution, in the discharge of Christian duties. When the governor of the Philippine islands offered to facilitate his escape, he peremptorily refused to quit his prison. He died, not without suspicion of poison, after he had been confined above three years. The mission was continued after his death; but it did not promise to be successful, as the prejudices of the Chinese were too firmly fixed to be easily eradicated [c].

Clement, in the mean time, continued to observe, with an anxious eye, the commotions of Europe. When the emperor had proclaimed his son (the archduke Charles) king of Spain, his holiness refused to acknowlege the young prince in that capacity. A new invasion of Ferrara followed; but the Austrians did not venture to make a conquest of that territory, as Leopold was unwilling to inflict any serious injury on the pontiff. As soon as Joseph became emperor, he manifested a stronger inclination than his father had evinced, to thwart and harass the head of the church. He restricted the papal authority in point of presentation to benefices; seised Comacchio, and claimed Parma and Placentia as imperial fiefs. His troops levied contributions in the ecclesiastical state, and alarmed the timid inhabitants. At length, however, he consented to an accommodation [d], and ceased to be a refractory son of the church.

A revival of the contest between the Jansenists and the Jesuits had for some time conspired with politics and war to disturb the tranquillity of the court of Rome [e]. M. Du-Pin had published, in 1703, a Case of Conscience, in which (according to the pope's letter to the king of France) various errors

[c] Guarnacci, Vit. Pontif. et Cardin. tom. ii. p. 143, 144.

[d] In the year 1708.

[e] For an account of the rise of this controversy, and of the doctrines propagated by Jansenius, see Dr. Mosheim's fifth volume, cent. xvii. sect. ii. part i. chap. i.

already condemned were revived, and the heretical tenets of Jansenius defended; and for this offence he was banished from Paris into the province of Bretagne. Forty doctors of the Sorbonne, whose names appeared among the signatures of approbation that accompanied the *Case*, were desired to submit to the will of the pontiff; and many of them recanted, while others denied that they had given assent to the book. For the more effectual repression of Jansenism, a new apostolical constitution was issued in 1705, condemning such errors with menaces of papal indignation. The archbishop of Sebaste, vicar of the holy see in Holland, was removed from his employment for a supposed collusion with the Jansenists; and these sectaries were again subjected to ecclesiastical censure in 1708, when the pope condemned the Moral Reflexions of their celebrated associate, Quesnel, upon the New Testament. This theologian answered the damnatory bull with a spirit which inflamed the contest. The partisans of Rome called for a new and more explicit condemnation of the Reflexions; and the king of France, prejudiced against a sect which the Jesuits represented as even more dangerous to the church than that of the Huguenots, earnestly solicited the promulgation of a rigorous edict. Hence arose that decree which was addressed to the whole catholic world, but which more particularly demanded the attention and observance of the Gallican church [f].

The Anti-Jansenist ordinance, as it commenced with the terms *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, was quickly known throughout Christendom by the appellation of the bull *Unigenitus*. Alleging and lamenting the inefficacy of the former condemnation of Quesnel's book, the pontiff was determined, he said, to apply a stronger remedy to the growing disease. Some

[f] Guarnacci, Vit. Pontif. et Cardin. tom. ii. p. 11, 18, 19.—Histoire de France, sous le Regne de Louis XIV. par M. de Larrey, tom. iii.—This bull made its appearance on the 8th of September, 1713, N. S.

catholic truths, he allowed, were mingled with the mass of corrupt doctrine: but, as the insidious and seductive manner in which the errors were brought forward, had occasioned a neglect of the sound portion of the work, it was necessary to separate the tares from the wheat. He and his counsellors, therefore, had extracted a hundred and one propositions from the book; and these he now condemned as false, captious, scandalous, pernicious, rash, seditious, impious, blasphemous, schismatic, and heretical. Not content with censuring these passages, he subjoined a prohibition of the whole performance, and cautioned the people, on pain of excommunication, against the perusal of any vindication or defence of it, which had been, or might be, offered to the public.

This bull, perhaps, the good sense of Clement would have forborne to promulgate, if the zeal of the bigoted and domineering Louis had not overawed or perverted the pontiff; though it may with equal plausibility be supposed, that the pope's zeal was sufficient for the object, without any solicitation whatever. The Jansenists, persecuted by that intolerant prince for disregarding the new papal *constitution*, expected less rigorous treatment when Philip duke of Orleans became regent of France. The cardinal de Noailles, who had warmly supported their cause, was introduced into the cabinet: those who had been banished were recalled: the resolutions which the Sorbonne had adopted in favor of the bull, were annulled, as the effect of constraint; and the conduct of the court of Rome was publicly and acrimoniously condemned. The pope remonstrated against these proceedings, and urged the propriety of submitting to the holy see: but the Jansenists called for a general council, calculated to heal the disorders of the church. The Jesuits denied the necessity of such a convocation, and complained of the arrogance of the demand. The regent at length began to listen to the persuasions of the bigoted party,

and menaced the opposers of the bull with his resentment. He banished M. Ravechet, syndic of the Sorbonne, into Roussillon; but he would not consent to the deposition of that resolute academic, who died in the midst of these disputes. An assembly of prelates, convoked by Philip, in vain endeavoured to reconcile the parties; and twenty commissioners, nominated for the same purpose, were not more successful in their exertions. The parliament of Paris took cognisance of the affair, in consequence of an appeal from some priests whom the archbishop of Rheims had excommunicated for their opposition to the will of his holiness. The spiritual sentence was declared null and void, and the prelate who had pronounced it was condemned in costs and damages. The Jansenists now became more bold in their attacks, until the regent, alleging the inutility of these disputes, imposed silence by a royal declaration [g].

An edict which confounded the advocates of truth and of sound doctrine with misguided zealots, displeased both parties. The pope accused the regent of insincerity and injustice, and of enmity to that church which he was bound to protect. To the cardinal de Noailles he sent a letter, mingling expostulation with entreaty, which did not subdue the firmness of that prelate. The cardinal's appeal from the bull or "constitution of the holy father to the pope better "advised, and to a future general council," was condemned by the court of inquisition at Rome as a scandalous libel; and its circulation and perusal were strictly prohibited. A papal brief afterwards appeared [h], commanding all Christians throughout the world to withhold their favor and regard from the opposers of the constitution, and threatening these unworthy sons of the church, in case of prolonged contumacy, with a forfeiture of all ecclesiastical privi-

[g] October 7, 1717, N. S.—Guarnacci, Vit. Pontificum et Cardin. tom. ii. p. 21, 22.

[h] Dated August 28, 1718.

leges. This brief, exciting the indignation of the Parisian parliament, was suppressed by an *arrêt*.

In the progress of the contest, the pope's adherents strengthened their party; and the Jansenist leaders assumed a more conciliatory tone. The cardinal declared his readiness to accept the constitution, according to his own explanation of it; and, with this qualification, he condemned the work of Quesnel. Some of the clergy disapproved the explanations, as being almost equally objectionable with the bull itself; and, on the other hand, the chief promoters of that act or decree insisted on an absolute and unreserved submission to its obvious import. Many of the French bishops condescended to explain it, in the hope of removing the scruples of the conscientious Jansenists: but the pope, while he commended the zeal and good intentions of those prelates, denied the necessity of their exertions, as the wisdom and authority of the head of the church, who was allowed to dictate to the faithful, did not require, from any of its members, explanatory aid or argumentative enforcement.

The pope ultimately prevailed in the contest. The regent resolved to gratify the majority of the higher clergy by giving the sanction of the court to the papal edict, after it had been for seven years an object of dispute. It was ordained[1], that the constitution *Unigenitus*, received by the bishops, should be observed by all orders of people in the French dominions; that no university or incorporated society, and no individual of any description whatever, should speak, write, maintain or teach, directly or indirectly, any thing repugnant to the ordinance, or to the explanations given of it by the dignitaries of the Gallican church; that all appeals and proceedings against it should be deemed void; and that the courts of parliament, and all judges,

[1] August 4, 1720.

should assist the prelates in the execution of spiritual censures. The parliament of Paris at first refused to register this decree, which, said some of its members, not only derogated from the dignity of the crown, but militated against the rights of the subject, and the liberties of the Gallican church; but it was confirmed by the great council, and promulgated as an operative law. Even the cardinal de Noailles at length acquiesced in it; and a parliamentary registration was procured by menaces of removal or of exile [k].

The exertions of the cardinal Du-Bois were of signal service in subduing the spirit of the principal Jansenists, and, after the registration of the edict, he made occasional use of *lettres de cachet* against refractory individuals, and revived the oath introduced by Louis XIV. which all candidates for holy orders, and for academical degrees, were obliged to take, importing that the five propositions of Jansenius, respecting grace and free-will, were justly condemned.

Clement was highly pleased at this accommodation; but his joy was allayed by the consideration of his declining health. He died in the spring of the following year, at the age of seventy-one years, during twenty of which he had occupied the pontifical throne. His catholic biographer ascribes to him an acute understanding and a tenacious memory, an unwearied zeal in the pursuit of learning, a firmness of mind united with benevolence of disposition and courtesy of manners, and a freedom from anger and resentment [l]: but this writer is evidently partial to him. We admit that he was a man of considerable merit; but he sometimes evinced the narrowness of bigotry, was not always so grateful for services as he ought to have been, and cherished in particular instances a spirit of revenge.

[k] Memoires de la Regence.
[l] Guarnacci, Vit. Pontificum et Cardinalium, tom. ii. p. 36.

His secretary, cardinal Paulucci, would have been chosen to succeed him, if the intrigues of the Austrian faction had not baffled the views of the Italian members of the conclave, whose advantage in point of number yielded to imperial tyranny. After a vacancy of seven weeks, the pontifical chair was filled with Michael Angelo Conti, son of the duke of Poli, who assumed the designation of Innocent XIII. Being in a weak state of health at the time of his election, he did not long preside over the church, his government not being extended by Providence to the end even of the third year.

It was one of the first cares of this pontiff to accommodate the dispute respecting the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. The emperor and the king of Spain had in vain solicited that favor from the late pope: but it was now granted to the former prince, on the acknowlegement of tributary subjection to the holy see. Another object of Innocent's attention was the maintenance of the papal claim to the sovereignty of Parma and Placentia; but he did not, in that respect, succeed to his wish. In the mean time he exercised his authority at Rome with mildness, and sometimes with that severity which appeared to be necessary. To other parts of Christendom he also extended his care and vigilance: and Spain, in particular, felt his corrective hand. Observing with serious concern, and indeed with strong disgust, the dissolute manners both of the clergy and laity in that country, he issued an admonitory and threatening edict for the repression of irregular, disorderly, and vicious practices. He had no doubt of the religious zeal and decorous behaviour of his catholic majesty [m], but lamented, on this occasion, the insufficient influence even of royal example [n].

Amidst the cares of spiritual and temporal government, Innocent found his health seriously declining.

[m] Philip V.

[n] Guarnacci, Vit. Pontif. tom. ii. p. 384, 385.

Hydropic symptoms alarmed him; and other disorders conspired to put an end to his life, in the spring of the year 1724, at the age of 68. Few pontiffs were ever more popular among their temporal subjects than Innocent XIII, whose death, therefore, was sincerely lamented. His successor was cardinal Vincent Orsini (eldest son of the duke of Gravina), who, having an early sense of piety, had rejected the offer of a splendid marriage, renounced a rich inheritance in favor of a younger brother, and entered into the clerical order, in which he distinguished himself by his indefatigable zeal as a preacher, by his rigid attention to all points of duty, and his scrupulous avoidance of every species of luxury and excess.

The beginning of the pontificate of Benedict XIII. —for so the new pope was styled—was marked by an edict against luxury and fantastic extravagance in dress; and, that he might not seem to attend more to *minutiæ* than to objects of importance, he took every opportunity of recommending a strict regard to moral and social duties, and a steady practice of Christian virtues. His exhortations and injunctions had some effect: but, when one head of the *hydra* of vice was stricken off, another instantly grew in its place. If the wishes of Benedict, however, were not answered, he consoled himself by reflecting that he had done his duty. That consciousness will always impart pleasure to a pious mind. It will soothe the Christian moralist amidst the evils of life, and at the approach of death.

It was in the first year of his government that the affair of Thorn occurred, which, while it contributed to the supposed advantage of the catholic church by injuring the protestant interest in Poland, wounded the feelings of the pontiff, who lamented and reprobated the cruelty that attended the triumph of the Romanists on that occasion. Some Lutherans neglecting or refusing to kneel at a procession of the host, a student of the Jesuits' college reproached and even struck them, and some other

zealots of that seminary afterwards insulted the peaceful inhabitants. The aggressor being apprehended and confined, his comrades demanded and obtained his release: but they were not suffered to rescue another who had been seised by the city-guard. Enraged at this disappointment, they committed various outrages; and, in retaliation, the college was attacked and plundered by the populace. The president of the city, on pretence of his connivance at this tumult on the part of the people, was decapitated by order of a Polish tribunal: nine other citizens were subjected to the same fate; and the privileges of the Lutheran inhabitants were arbitrarily annulled. This barbarity disgusted those catholics who had any sense of humanity, and excited the indignation of every protestant community. The Jesuits, however, had the effrontery to maintain, that they had only inflicted due chastisement on their insolent adversaries, who had entered into a nefarious conspiracy against their catholic fellow-citizens; and the king of Poland boasted, in the same spirit of bigotry, that he had vindicated, by the punishment of profane heretics, the honor and dignity of true religion. That prince seemed to think that he had sufficiently blended mercy with justice, by sparing the lives of the vice-president and some other citizens who had been condemned. The Jesuits had, at this time, too great an influence at the court of Warsaw; and they rarely exerted that influence in the cause of justice or of humanity.

The more humane and benevolent pontiff consoled himself, amidst these sanguinary deeds, by a bloodless triumph of that religion which he superintended. We allude to the Jubilee of the year 1725, which he opened with great solemnity, and which gladdened the faithful with the confident hopes of a plenary remission of their sins. He afterwards held a provincial council in the Lateran church, chiefly for a reform of the conduct of the clergy; and the assembly voted for an enforcement of some decrees

that had been enacted by the council of Trent, but which had fallen into disuse. On another occasion, he rose above the bigotry of his predecessors, by expressing a wish for the diffusion of scriptural knowlege; and, with that view, he permitted the people in general to peruse the sacred volume, and encouraged the multiplication of copies in the modern languages. This permission displeased the rigid catholics; but it was approved by a majority of the members of that church. Benedict, about the same time, testified his devotion to the Muses, by publicly decorating Perfetti, a Tuscan poet, with a crown of laurel.

A grand scheme of religious comprehension was formed by this respectable ruler of the church. It was of no less magnitude than the union of the four communities that divided Christendom. He proposed, that four councils should be holden at different places at the same time, each consisting of a certain number of representatives of the Romish, Greek, Lutheran, and Calvinist churches, with a president of one or other church in each assembly; that the mass should be so altered as not to be repugnant to the feelings of the three last denominations of Christians; that unpleasing or obnoxious doctrines should be mutually softened, and various concessions reciprocally made. A scheme of this kind can only be expected to be successful, when the greater part of the professors of each religion have relinquished all remains of cool animosity, overweening conceit, and contemptuous illiberality, and when they have learned to distinguish properly between essential objects and immaterial points. Such a state of mind has never yet been observed to influence the members of different sects, assembled for deliberation and discussion; and we may easily conclude, that, if the four councils had met, and the result of their separate meetings had been submitted to the consideration of a general assembly, the desired union would not have taken place. The

scheme, indeed, was not prosecuted by the pontiff who entertained it; and the churches in question are still divided.

However disposed was his holiness to remain upon amicable terms with the catholic princes, he could not easily avoid all occasions of dispute. A contest had long subsisted with the court of Turin, upon three grounds,—the right of patronage, the extent of jurisdiction, and the sovereignty of different towns. The king of Sardinia asserted his pretensions with a high tone; and the prudence of Benedict suggested the propriety of compliance, not indeed in every particular, but in most of the litigated points. An allowance of the general right of royal presentation to bishoprics and other preferments, a considerable diminution of the papal fees, and a precise settlement of jurisdiction, allayed the displeasure of Victor Amadeus; and an agreement was signed in the year 1727. An accommodation was not so easily adjusted with the king of Portugal, who, not being gratified with regard to the appointment of a priest whom he recommended as a candidate for the dignity of cardinal, recalled his ambassador from Rome, ordered the papal nuncio to quit his realm, and permitted the patriarch of Lisbon to grant dispensations, and decide those points and causes which had usually been subject to the pope's determination. Benedict left the settlement of this dispute to his successor: but he found an opportu nity of effecting an accommodation with the emperor, on the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline in the Neapolitan realm; a reconciliation which he purchased by relinquishing some of the rights of the holy see [o].

In the devotional and ritual concerns of the church, this pontiff approved the *office* of Gregory VII. and ordered it to be read and observed in every church

[o] Guarnacci, Vit. Pontif. tom. ii. p. 417—22.—Historia de Portugal, tom. iii.

dependent on the Romish hierarchy. The laity, in France and other countries, were not very willing to comply with the order: but Benedict, in this point, insisted upon their obedience and submission. If the sovereigns of those states had interfered on this occasion, he would probably have given up the point.

Indefatigable in his apostolical duties, he continued to pray and preach, attend to all pontifical and sacerdotal functions, and direct the conduct of subordinate prelates and ministers of the church. He frequently visited the poor, and not only gave them spiritual comfort, but relieved them by his bounty; selling for that purpose the presents which he received. He habituated himself to the plainest fare, and lived in the most frugal manner, like a hermit in his cell, that he might more liberally bestow upon others the blessings of fortune. But it is to be lamented, that, from inattention to his political duty, he suffered cardinal Coscia, an unprincipled Neapolitan, to pursue a shameful course of rapine and extortion [p]. Yet he died [q] without losing his popularity, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixth of his pontificate.

Clement XII., of the Corsini family, was chosen, after a long contest, to succeed the mild and humble Benedict. He quickly reformed some abuses, which had crept into the administration of the Roman state, and then directed his attention to foreign

[p] So we are informed by the baron de Polnitz; and the assertion is not disputed by the impartial. Guarnacci, without stating any particulars of the cardinal's misconduct and criminality, says, that he greatly increased his fortune, and governed the pope's dominions at his discretion. Clement XII. punished him with a long imprisonment, subjected him to a heavy fine, and deprived him of the archbishopric of Benevento.

[q] On the 21st of February, 1730.—He ought to be mentioned as an author; for many sermons, some accounts of the proceedings of synods, a commentary upon the book of Exodus, and sacred epigrams, have been published as his productions. His literary merit, however, is not of the highest kind.

affairs. In the canton of Lucerne, in Switzerland, the laic magistracy of the chief town had presumed to take cognisance of the delinquency of ecclesiastics, and had disobeyed the injunctions of the papal nuncio, who had therefore retired into the territory of Uri. The pope now adjusted the dispute, and defined the jurisdiction, without any material derogation from the dignity of the holy see. Casting an eye upon Germany, he checked in the catholic states the practice of pluralism, and only in some cases allowed the same person to hold two bishoprics, but never three. In the Saxon electorate, he strenuously promoted the return of the protestants to catholicism, which some were inclined to embrace, in imitation of their sovereign Augustus: but these converts were not very numerous. Not neglecting France, he opposed by new edicts the progress of Jansenism in that realm. Being disgusted at the conduct of the Spaniards, who had seised the duchy of Parma without acknowleging his claim of sovereignty over it, he at first refused to bestow a cardinal's hat upon a Spanish prince, who was then too young to be canonically invested with so important a dignity: but, moved by the importunities of his catholic majesty, he suffered the prince to enjoy the title, and to be administrator of the temporalities, assigning the spiritual jurisdiction to the archbishop of Larissa. A new cause of offence soon arose; for the Spaniards had the audacity to enlist the pope's subjects, and the cruelty to commit outrages upon those who resisted such unwarrantable acts. Philip, however, soothed the irritated feelings of Clement, from whom he procured, for his son don Carlos, the investiture of Naples and Sicily. With the court of Lisbon the pontiff had previously secured a reconciliation, by complying with the request of Joseph: but he was not so acquiescent toward the king of Sardinia; for he annulled the convention which that prince had

obtained from Benedict, alleging that it was too favorable to the civil and temporal power [r].

This pontiff was a man of respectable abilities; had a regard for justice; was cautious and prudent, yet not destitute of spirit; œconomical, without being meanly parsimonious; easy of access, without rendering himself indecorously familiar. He had a taste for the polite arts, and was an encourager of literary merit. Dying in his eighty-eighth year [s], he was succeeded by Prosper Laurence Lambertini, archbishop of Bologna, who entered upon his high office under the designation of Benedict XIV.

Lambertini had acquired the character of religious moderation, and the fame of learning; and, during a pontificate of eighteen years, he acted in general with prudence and propriety. He did not profess himself a politician, or claim the merit of activity and address in the important concerns of temporal government: yet he was not so negligent or remiss as his patron, the thirteenth Benedict. His chief minister was cardinal Valenti, who was at once a *virtuoso* and a man of business.

In the administration of the church, Benedict XIV. was mild and conciliatory, rather than rigid or severe. He was aware of the relaxed morality of the clergy in the catholic states: but, however he might wish to check their licentiousness, he did not take any strong or violent measures for that purpose. He was disposed to promote an union or accommodation between the Roman see, and the Greek and protestant churches; and, if he could have succeeded by concession or compromise, he would have reconciled all religious differences among Christian communities: but that was a task which exceeded his powers of exertion, and which, indeed, no man can expect to accomplish. He was censured by

[r] Guarnacci, tom. ii. p. 579, 580, &c.
[s] In February, 1740.

many of the Romanists for attempting to diminish the number of festivals, and to abolish some ceremonies which appeared to him to be useless, improper, or absurd [t]; and he also gave offence by the occasional levity of his conversation, which, however, was unaccompanied with immorality or profligacy.

With the catholic courts he had no violent disputes. During the war in which the French were opposed to the house of Austria, he seemed inclined to favor the former; but he endeavoured to avoid giving offence to either of the rival families. He carried on a negotiation, for some years, with Ferdinand, king of Spain, on a subject which had frequently been a cause of altercation. His catholic majesty claimed the right of presentation to all the benefices in his ample dominions; but he at length consented to the disposal of fifty-two of the number by the pontiff, on condition that they should be given to Spaniards alone, and that no pensions should be exacted from the occupants. By the compact then adjusted [u], the revenues of vacant benefices were left to a clergyman named by the king, not to the rapacity of a committee of papal agents; and, in some other respects, the receipts of the apostolical chamber were considerably diminished.

At the solicitation of those princes who were displeased at the intrigues, and offended at the malpractices of the Jesuits, Benedict promised to exert his authority for the reform of that order; and the bull which he issued for this purpose was one of the last acts of his life. He died in 1758, when he had attained the age of eighty-three years. He was an

[t] He had prepared bulls for these purposes: but the monks excited such a clamor on the occasion, that he did not carry them into effect. *Voyages en différens Pays de l'Europe.*—— Haye, 1777; lettre 15.

It has been affirmed, that he abolished *autos da fe* in Portugal, at the desire of king Joseph; and, if he had, such a suppression would have been honorable to his memory: but the assertion appears to be untrue.

[u] In the year 1753.

erudite and able theologian, as his numerous works evince; a liberal patron of learning and the elegant arts; a lively companion, a benevolent and friendly man. Cardinal Rezzonico, bishop of Padua, who succeeded him as Clement XIII., had a greater reputation for piety, and was more zealous for the high claims of the church: but he was not so generally esteemed as his amiable predecessor.

The doctrines of the Romish church, at this period, remained in the same state in which they had long subsisted. The worship of the Virgin Mary, the tenet of transubstantiation, the idea of purgatory, the propriety of invoking saints, the right and power of absolution, and other parts of the catholic creed, were still retained, and still had considerable influence. The pageantry of procession, the multitude of ceremonies, and the forms of worship, were nearly the same as they had been in the preceding century; and the church-government and discipline were not materially altered. But the majority of the people entertained less exalted ideas of the pope's supremacy, and preferred the authority of general councils. The higher classes rather seemed to admit, than really believe, the doctrine of a priest's being the maker of his God in the eucharist, and gave an outward credence to other absurdities, which they secretly deemed an insult to their understandings. The catholic sovereigns were more enlightened, and more disposed to tolerate other religions; and the ecclesiastics themselves were less bigoted, and more indulgent to the supposed errors of those who differed from them.

While the affairs of the church were in this predicament, the conduct of the Jesuits, and the proceedings against that society, drew the public attention more particularly to ecclesiastical concerns. The rise and progress of that celebrated fraternity, and the chief incidents of its history, have been well related by Dr. Mosheim; and, in our *continuation* of

his work[w], we have given a concise (but, we hope, a satisfactory) account of that renewal of contest, with the advocates of Jansenism, which distinguished the pontificate of Clement XI. The effect was, in appearance, favorable to the Jesuits: yet they impaired their interest by the violent proceedings of their party against the Jansenists. After a long interval of comparative tranquillity, the animosities of contest were revived by the refusal of sacramental favors to dying persons, who were supposed to be attached to the Jansenian heresy.

But, before we enter into any detail upon this subject, it may not be improper to advert to the progress of that infidel philosophy, which had no inconsiderable effect in promoting the ruin of the Jesuits. Bayle, and other writers, in the reign of Louis XIV., had propagated a freedom of opinion on religious topics, which had shaken the faith of many readers; and Voltaire, following more openly a similar course, had disseminated an anti-christian spirit, which menaced the establishment with peril. Diderot and d'Alembert, who, in 1751, sent the *Encyclopédie* into the world, insinuated scepticism and impiety in the midst of scientific discussions; and free-thinking became so prevalent, as to alarm the clergy, and call forth their zeal in the defence of an endangered church. The Jesuits, nursed in priest-craft, and devoted to the holy see, were peculiarly exposed to these profane attacks. Their arts and intrigues were developed, and their selfish policy was reprobated with pointed severity. Their Jansenist opponents, at the same time, were not spared, as they had too much religion to be in favor with sceptics.

[w] This term has been used, as being, upon the whole, the most applicable: but, in some parts, it is a *supplement*, rather than a *sequel*. For instance, in addition to Dr. Mosheim's sketch of the contest between the church and the Jansenists in the reign of Louis XIV., and under the following regency, we have given a more detailed account of the proceedings on that occasion.

The archbishop of Paris was a friend to the Jesuits; and, therefore, when he was desired by the court to allay, by his high authority, the dispute between them and the Jansenists, he replied, that it was customary to with-hold the sacraments of the church from such as could not produce certificates of confession, signed by an orthodox priest; a refusal which had been originally introduced with a view of stigmatising the Huguenots. The parliament of Paris fined a priest for having repeatedly evinced this kind of bigotry, and issued an ordinance, in 1752, prohibiting all acts tending to schism, and all refusal of sacraments on pretence of non-adherence to the bull *Unigenitus*. The king wavered between the parties, and hoped to keep them so well poised, that no serious inconvenience would ensue from the ferment: but he did not steadily preserve the balance; and both the church and state were convulsed.

The archbishop of Paris took the lead, as a supporter of the cause of orthodoxy, against the encroachments of Jansenism; and he exhorted the court to oppose with vigor the presumptuous magistrates who countenanced that heresy. Louis, however, by the advice of the chancellor Lamoignon, adopted the expedient of an arbitration, and appointed delegates of both parties, to accommodate the dispute; a measure which only inflamed mutual acrimony. The parliament persisted in prosecuting such priests as withheld the sacraments; and, when the king commanded a discontinuance of these processes, an animated remonstrance was voted by the magistrates. He punished their disobedience by dispersion and exile, and instituted temporary tribunals to act in their stead. But the clamors of the public soon induced him to recall them; and an ordinance was then registered, for a cessation of all religious disputes [x].

[x] Vie Privée de Louis XV.

The tranquillity which ensued was of short continuance. The archbishop was banished from the capital for reviving the dispute, and some inferior ecclesiastics of his party were more rigorously punished. The clergy sat in council for several months, in 1755, without terminating the schism. They addressed a letter to pope Benedict, who, in an indecisive answer, seemed to leave the settlement of the affair to his most Christian majesty. The embarrassed monarch, after various temporising measures, held a bed of justice, in which he peremptorily ordered all his subjects to pay respect and submission to the bull, without considering it, however, as a rule of faith, although the bishops, in the late council, had declared that it bore that character. By another ordinance, he regulated the meetings and altered the constitution of the magistracy; and two courts of the parliament immediately resigned their functions in disgust.

The Jesuits were highly pleased at the spirit which the king evinced on this occasion; but, while they exulted in the depression of the parliament, they did not foresee that their own ruin was approaching. The intrigues of the members of that order in Portugal had induced Joseph, sovereign of that realm, to watch them closely, and to make such reformative arrangements as disgusted the fraternity. Hence, when his life was threatened by a conspiracy, from which he had a narrow escape[y], it was found that many Jesuits were concerned in the nefarious plot, particularly father Gabriel de Malagrida, whom the court, however, out of regard to the church, did not put to death as a traitor, but as a heretic. The incensed monarch now suppressed the colleges of the Jesuits; and, to restrain the future attempts of ecclesiastics against the state, he insisted upon a grant (from the pope) of perpetual jurisdiction over the whole clerical body, in cases of treason and

[y] In September 1758.

sedition. Clement promised to accede to the demand, if a prelate nominated by him or any of his successors should preside on such occasions: but he afterwards consented that the king should name a bishop for these trials [z].

No intercession in behalf of the Portuguese Jesuits could soften the inflexibility of Joseph, who, in addition to the guilt of the late conspiracy, accused them of an usurpation of sovereign power in South America, alleging that they had concurred with their Spanish brethren in tyrannising over the natives of Paraguay, whom they had tutored to take arms against him and his catholic majesty. On account of their various enormities, all the members of the fraternity were declared out-laws, in 1759, and banished from the dominions of Portugal; and other courts were invited to follow the rigorous example.

In the mean while, the Parisian parliament, so hostile to the Jesuits, procured from the court a full re-establishment; and, at the same time, the clerical exiles were recalled. The magistracy now resumed the proceedings against the with-holders of the sacramental favors, and waited for an opportunity of wreaking signal vengeance upon the sons of Loyola. Their commercial rapacity furnished the desired opportunity. Two merchants whom they were bound to supply with articles of traffic, stopped payment on the seisure of those goods by British cruisers; and the Jesuits did not take prompt or adequate measures to avert the shock. Numerous creditors appeared against them: and the cause was referred, at their desire, to the grand chamber of the parliament. They disavowed the imputed agency of Father de la Valette, the manager of their trade, whose offence against the church, by engaging in commerce, only concerned himself: but it was maintained against them, that their superior, or

[z] Historia de Portugal, Lisb. 1802; tom. iv. p. 22, 27.

general, superintended their trade, as well as other concerns, and directed the conduct of the agent. The judges insisted upon seeing the constitutions of the society; and an exposure was consequently made of the devoted submission of all the members to a foreign head, and of their dangerous maxims in politics and morality. It also appeared that they did not constitute a regular religious order, as the intended contract between them and the state had never been completed: their fraternity had been merely tolerated, not adopted. Their enemies took advantage of these circumstances, and represented in so strong a light the danger of keeping such men embodied, that the king resolved to suppress the society; not, however, before the general had refused to submit to a plan of regulation, proposed by the French court. The parliament ordained, on the 6th of August, 1762, that the Jesuits of France should no longer wear the habit of the society, live in community, or obey the orders of foreign directors. Their partisans loudly exclaimed against an edict which they considered as extremely severe and unjust, because those whom it affected were not heard in their own defence, and were condemned upon false reports, for misrepresented doctrines and unproved delinquency. The opinion of the lawfulness of regicide in certain cases, they said, seemed to be the chief offence of the fraternity; but it ought first to be proved that this was truly imputable to the Jesuits, who, as their enemies knew, had no concern in Damien's attempt to assassinate the French king, and were also entirely innocent with regard to other crimes of the same nature, of which they had been malignantly accused [a].

A regular edict of suppression was delayed for some years: but it was at length registered, on the 7th of December, 1764, and promulgated by the royal authority. The parliaments of Normandy and

[a] Vie Privée de Louis XV.

Bretagne followed, with little hesitation, the example of the Parisian magistracy; but other parliaments were not fully convinced of the justice or expediency of the measure. The pope was shocked at the profane audacity of a court that could act with such determined hostility against a holy society: but his bull, for the reinstatement of the fraternity, was suppressed in France by an *arrêt* of parliament, and was declared inoperative in Portugal by the king's express command.

The king of Spain was not more friendly to the Jesuits than Louis or Joseph. He was disgusted at their intriguing spirit, and resolved, not merely to humble them, but to annihilate their power in his dominions. He seised their temporalities in 1767, and banished them, as dangerous subjects, from every part of Spain and its dependencies. His son Ferdinand also freed the kingdom of Naples and the island of Sicily from the obnoxious fraternity. A great number of these exiles were admitted into the Roman territories, and some other parts of Italy; and many found protection among Protestants. The duke of Parma, soon afterwards, commanded all members of the order to retire from his dominions; and he, at the same time, hazarded an open rupture with the see of Rome, by abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Parma and Placentia. His holiness declared the duke's ordinance to that effect null and void, and menaced its promulgator with the thunders of the church. Being supported by the majority of the catholic princes, the duke persisted in his purpose; and the pontiff was equally resolute. With a view of intimidating him into a revocation of his brief, the French king dispossessed him of Avignon; and some portions of his Italian territory were seised by his Neapolitan majesty. His spiritual authority and his revenues were diminished by the duke of Modena; and the Venetians, of whose republic he was born a subject, assailed him with similar hostilities. Mortified at this treat-

ment, yet unwilling to yield, he was observed to decline gradually in his health. Uneasiness and chagrin hastening the effect of age, he died in his seventy-sixth year[b], with the character of a pious and well-meaning prelate, who was, however, more influenced by the zeal of bigotry than by common sense or wisdom. He ought to have been content with maintaining the doctrine and worship of the church, without obstinately upholding papal usurpations.

The enemies of the Jesuits had in vain solicited the dissolution of that order, while Clement XIII. filled the papal chair: but they conceived strong hopes of success, when a prelate of a more philosophical character was chosen pontiff. This was a Franciscan monk named Francis Laurence Ganganelli, who thought proper to assume the name of his immediate predecessor.

Instead of conciliating the new pope, the king of France declared that he would retain Avignon and its dependencies; but he condescended to offer a sum of money for a dereliction of them on the part of his holiness. The king of Naples also insisted upon the cession of the district which he had seised, and concurred with Louis in urging Clement to suppress that society which was so odious to the Christian world: but the importunities of these princes, aided by the influence of Spain and Portugal, were for some years unsuccessful. Clement XIV. felt the difficulties of his situation, and demanded time for mature reflexion. He conceived it to be his duty to patronise and support a religious order, if its utility to the church or to society overbalanced its demerits; and, at the same time, he wished to avoid a rupture with those courts which had evidently the power, and seemingly the inclination, to inflict serious wounds on the papacy.

[b] In February, 1769.

In taking a survey of Europe, he found *few* of its sovereigns inclined to support him against the house of Bourbon: we may rather say, that *none* would authoritatively interpose in his behalf. Yet he would not tamely or too readily yield to dictatorial demands. He apprehended that one concession, on his part, would lead to new requisitions; and he knew that a facility of compliance would only serve to encourage domineering insolence. Amidst these reflexions, delay did not seem likely to be injurious; and, if he should be obliged to submit, a protraction of the evil day would at least save appearances, even in the eyes of the zealous advocates of papal supremacy. In this and in other affairs of moment, he resolved to think for himself, rather than follow the example of those pontiffs who had resigned their own judgements to the influence and authority of the cardinals. Many members of the sacred college were displeased at his want of confidence in men of their rank and merit: but he disregarded their murmurs, and declared that he would not be governed. It was, he thought, better for a sovereign to be, in a great measure, his own minister and negotiator, than to suffer others, as is too frequently the practice, to act for him at their discretion. With a *volto sciolto*, he deemed it expedient for a prince to have *pensieri stretti;* not from a mean spirit of hypocrisy or dissimulation, but from a politic desire of concealing those views and schemes of which an unfair advantage might be taken.

The Jesuits affected to believe (and probably many of them really thought), that Clement would not dare to suppress their order. But, in the fifth year of his pontificate, he resolved, in defiance of all the clamors and menaces of the zealots, to disembody the fraternity, and amalgamate its members with the unprivileged mass of society. He declared it to be his opinion, that the order had ceased to answer the ends of its institution, and that the members, by the impropriety of their conduct, their loose casuistry,

and their mischievous arts, had forfeited all claim to farther encouragement. A bull for the annihilation of the society was therefore promulgated[c]; its colleges were seised, and its revenues confiscated. Lorenzo Ricci, the refractory general of the order, was sent to the castle of St. Angelo, and died in confinement.

Pleased at the ruin of the Jesuits, the French court complimented Ganganelli on the justice and expediency of his edict, and restored the Venaissin to the holy see. The other remonstrating courts also adjusted their disputes with the pontiff; who, having thus settled the great point which had long engaged his attention, might be expected to feel little anxiety after the decision which he had so deliberately adopted. But, perhaps, he seriously apprehended the effects of the secret resentment of the ex-Jesuits, who could not look with a favorable eye upon the enemy of their order. However that may be, he died in the autumn of the following year, at the age of sixty-eight. It was supposed that he had been poisoned; but this suspicion has not been verified.

Of all the priests who for some centuries had filled the papal throne, Ganganelli seems to have been, if we except Benedict XIV., the most unprejudiced, candid, and liberal. He had neither the bigotry of a monk, nor the pride of a cardinal; neither the ferocity of an inquisitor, nor the rapacity of an indigent adventurer, suddenly exalted to power and sovereignty. He did not devote his chief attention to the selfish interests of the see of Rome; nor did he treat other religious establishments with supercilious arrogance, studied contempt, or marked reprobation. His moderation entailed upon him the censures of the rigid and severe, who alleged that he was too lukewarm and indifferent in religious concerns to be a proper defender of the fortress of

[c] On the 21st of July, 1773.

catholicism, which required for its support the most strenuous exertions of active zeal. He was even accused of being a well-wisher to Protestantism; a heavy charge against the head of that church to which the protestants were determined foes: but this charge amounted to no more, in effect, than that he was not a bigot to popery. His treatment of the Jesuits exposed him to censures still more severe, and to all the rancor of malignity: but, in acting against that order, he only complied with the wishes of the most enlightened members of the grand community of Christendom, and justly dissolved a most immoral and unprincipled society. The time was opportune for such dissolution; the clamors which it excited soon spent their force; and a phalanx, once potent and formidable, had not the power of withstanding the energies of papal hostility; energies that were undoubtedly declining, but which, in the present case, were supported by the chief catholic princes and states.

The government of the church was now consigned to John Angelo Braschi, who had been created cardinal by Ganganelli, and was regarded as a moderate man, rather than a bigot or zealot. He was more indebted for his election to the clashing of parties, than to the peculiar favor or interest of any one faction. He was less popular, at the time of his elevation, than his predecessor; and his partiality and indulgence to his nephews did not tend to increase his popularity. Having a graceful person and a pleasing countenance, he was fond of show and parade, and took every opportunity of exhibiting himself to the public. In capacity and eloquence he was not deficient; but he had no extraordinary vigor of mind.

When he had superseded the vulgar name of John by the pontifical appellation of Pius *the Sixth*, some of those who were not inclined to think favorably of his disposition or his abilities, applied to him a reproachful verse, predicting the ruin of Rome under

a *Sextus*[d]. His friends, on the other hand, ridiculed this gloomy prophecy, and boasted of his ability, and the goodness of his heart and character. He commenced his administration with acts of benevolence and charity, with the selection of deserving men for various offices, and the removal or discouragement of some individuals who had misbehaved. He also formed the resolution of undertaking a work calculated for national benefit—the draining of the Pontine marshes. A bank was instituted to receive subscriptions for this purpose; but, after much labor and expence, the work was only effected in part. For what was done, however, Pius deserved thanks and praise.

After the suppression of the order of Jesuits, many who had belonged to the fraternity found protection in the dominions of the Prussian monarch, who intimated to the new pope, that he would not pay the least regard to the edict. His holiness replied, that he was bound to enforce the bull promulgated by his predecessor; but he at the same time declared, according to Frederic's agent Ciofani, that he would not treat the body of ex-Jesuits, then residing in the territories of that prince, as an irregular establishment. At the instigation, however, of the ministers of France and Spain, he afterwards required that the habit of the dissolved order should no longer be worn in the territories of Frederic, and that none of the ex-Jesuits should either preach, or administer the eucharist or other sacraments. The monarch, adverting to the ability which the Jesuits had displayed in the task of education, wished them to remain as a society for that purpose, in those provinces[e] in which his catholic subjects were numerous; and, when Pius conceded this point, the king agreed to the requisitions of the pontiff[f].

[d] "Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit."

[e] Particularly Silesia.

[f] Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI et son Pontificat, chap. iii.

thinking ministers, he was taught to believe that it was not necessary to interfere; and, when he was under other guides, he was too irresolute to act with vigor. To govern a nation so impetuous and volatile as the French, at a time when freedom of thought began to prevail, a prince of a more energetic character was requisite. Sometimes, indeed, he was peremptory; but he was not consistently firm or steadily resolute. He acquiesced in measures which in his heart he disapproved; and he neglected the enforcement of those which he conceived to be just, expedient, and salutary. Under his sway, infidelity and faction alarmingly gained ground; and by assisting the American colonists, he increased the agitations of his realm.

Even in Spain and Portugal, though in a much less degree than in France, freedom of thought, in the affairs of religion, began to diffuse itself among the higher and middle classes. The vigilance of the government, however, prevented it from being dangerous. In the extensive territories of the house of Austria, a similar freedom was repressed by the spirit of Maria Theresa, whose bigotry, at the same time, prompted her to infringe the rights of her protestant subjects[i]. Her son, the emperor Joseph, was himself a free-thinker, while he professed an adherence to the doctrines of the Romish church. This prince might justly be called the imperial projector. Many of his *whims*, like those of the ingenious but profligate duke of Buckingham, "died in thinking:" others were matured into *schemes*. With his political plans we have no concern on this occasion: it is only requisite that we should take notice of his regulations in the affairs of the church. He would not, he said, impeach the established doctrines; but he had a strong inclination to abridge the papal power in his dominions;

[i] "Under the virtuous Theresa," the protestants of Hungary (says Dr. Townson) "were not less vexed than under the profligate prince, who was taught, that his deviations from virtue "might be made up for by zeal to the true church."

and, with him, an inclination was soon converted into an act. Pius, being acquainted with the freedom of Joseph's sentiments, apprehended an attack from that enterprising innovator; and his fears were not visionary; for the emperor, in 1781, began with imposing restrictions upon the operation of bulls and rescripts sent from Rome. This ordinance was followed by an exemption of monasteries from all obedience to the chiefs of the different orders at Rome; a measure which the partisans of the pope, as might be expected, reprobated in warm terms. The generals of the orders desired the subalterns to maintain with spirit the constitutions of their establishments; but they were over-awed into submission by the firmness of the emperor, who also released all the colleges of missionaries from their dependence on the papal court. He farther displeased the pontiff by ordering that no money should be sent into foreign countries for masses; that no dignity should be solicited at Rome without his permission; that pilgrimages should be discontinued; and that the number of images and ornaments in churches should be diminished. The disgust felt by Pius at this conduct, was not allayed by the liberal edict of Joseph[k], granting full toleration to all the protestants in his dominions, as well as to all members of the Greek church; and the dissolution of a great number of monasteries, with the conversion of the buildings into colleges, hospitals, or barracks, increased the indignation of the vicar of St. Peter[l].

Thus harassed and (as he thought) insulted, Pius resolved to visit the emperor, who, among other demands, had insisted upon presenting, in future, to all vacant bishoprics and benefices in the Milanese and Mantuan territories. The pope remonstrated against this profane encroachment upon his supposed right of patronage; but he was persuaded by some of his counsellors to promise acquiescence in this point, if Joseph

[k] Promulgated on the 13th of October, 1781.

[l] Mémoires Hist. et Philos. sur Pie VI. chap. xi.—Coxe's Hist. of the House of Austria, vol. ii. chap. xlv.

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would engage to desist from his career of reform. This was an engagement which none who knew that potentate could expect from him; and, with regard to the intended visit, he declared that it would be wholly fruitless, although, in a private letter to Pius, he had hinted that all disputes might be better accommodated in such a way than by mere correspondence. His holiness, to the surprise of all, repaired to Vienna, in the hope of warding off a storm which blew with increasing violence. Joseph, in one of his interviews with his spiritual father, claimed the right of altering the ecclesiastical government in his own territories, while he suffered the catholic doctrines to remain unimpaired. The pontiff, finding expostulation useless, returned to Rome, and suffered the storm to rage. He probably thought, that Joseph was little better than a heretic, however he might pretend to doctrinal purity; and, on the other hand, the emperor imputed to the pope the narrowness of bigotry, and a want of philosophic liberality of sentiment.

The continuance of Joseph's reformative measures no longer surprised the pope, who had now witnessed the inflexibility of that prince's character. The see of Rome lost the presentation to bishoprics in Lombardy and other Austrian dependencies: its nuncios were deprived of their power and jurisdiction in Germany; and, by these and other attacks, the lustre of the papacy was visibly eclipsed.

Other catholic sovereigns, even those who had acquired the reputation of piety, did not scruple to assail that fabric which was thus weakened. Unfortunately for the cause of the papacy, there seemed to be a general disposition, during the pontificate of Pius, to diminish the authority of the see over which he presided. The court of Madrid assumed a greater degree of religious freedom than it had been accustomed to exercise; claimed rights nearly equal to those which the Gallican church had long maintained; reduced the inquisition to a state of passive subserviency; and made a farther diminution of the papal demands of

revenue. Even the bigoted court of Lisbon entertained ideas of reform. The queen was a devout catholic, superstitiously faithful to the doctrines and attached to the ceremonies of popery: but she suffered her son, the prince of Brazil, to lead her into anti-papal measures. Some publications which had been introduced by the emperor into the schools at Vienna, were translated into the language of Portugal, and ordered to be studied, for the promotion of free inquiry, in several new seminaries founded in that realm. Questions tending to weaken the fabric of papal supremacy, to abridge the power of the clerical body, and even to recommend toleration of various religions, were authoritatively proposed for discussion in the universities; and the press was permitted to aid the progress of such argumentation, although it was not allowed to impugn the peculiar doctrines of catholicism. No persons were suffered to devote themselves to monastic confinement, without the particular sanction of the sovereign. Even after the death of the prince, the court continued to encroach on the claims of the pope and the immunities of the church. The courts of Naples and Florence took greater liberties in this respect than that of Lisbon. A considerable number of monasteries were suppressed by the king and the grand duke: bishoprics and rich benefices were granted without consulting his holiness with regard to the individuals proper to occupy them; and contributions to the Roman treasury were abolished or restricted. The republic of Venice dissolved some conventual foundations, and applied their revenues to better purposes than the support of superstitious indolence. The duke of Modena put an end to the horrors of the inquisition in his dominions, and treated with less respect the general authority of the pontiff[m]. These incidents and transactions occurred at different times: but they are here mentioned together, to preserve a continuity of subject. They

[m] Mémoires sur Pie VI. chap. xviii. xix. xxii.

tend to shew the reduced state of the papacy at the period in question: but it may be observed, that, for its total extinction, Europe was not then prepared.

The pope could only resist these assaults by remonstrances, to which the reforming courts paid no regard. He was fully sensible of the decline of his influence, but concealed his chagrin under the appearance of composure. With the pomp of ceremony, and with ritual formalities, he amused himself and his people, while his authority was exposed to rude shocks. He also attended to the improvement of the museum, which had been formed at Rome by Benedict XIV., and which Ganganelli had considerably augmented.

The catholic princes, in general, not only annihilated, or materially reduced, the papal authority over their subjects, but suffered public opinion so far to operate, as to check the arbitrary use of their own authority: and the protestant governments also relaxed, in some degree, the rigors of power. Much, however, remained to be done for the purposes of popular benefit; for, even in Great Britain, the land of boasted freedom, the government was rather a combination of monarchy and aristocracy, than a proper mixture of those two kinds of polity with democracy.

While almost every nation in Europe seemed to be gradually advancing to a melioration of its government, and to a greater freedom of inquiry, the French unfortunately took the lead, and obscured the rising prospect by senseless precipitancy and by absurd innovations. They overturned former establishments before they had concerted or devised rational plans of substitution: they indulged in all the wildness of theory and all the licentiousness of caprice. The most outrageous cruelty was mingled with their political fanaticism; and the effects were calamitous and deplorable.

A revolution like that which convulsed France, could not be expected to prove favorable to the interests of religion. Men who were inclined to cherish

a boundless freedom of opinion, and who boasted of their being wholly uninfluenced by the wisdom of former times, were not likely to feel any high degree of respect for that system of religion which had long prevailed. Not content with ridiculing and reprobating the Romish ritual and establishment, they spoke contemptuously of all other creeds; and a neglect of religion became the order of the day. The constituent assembly, however, amidst all its innovations, made provision for the continuance of public worship; and the catholic religion was still the predominant system. The papal interest, indeed, was materially affected by the change of government. The vote against the payment of fees to the pope, the order for the suppression of monasteries, the seisure of all the possessions of the church as the property of the nation, and the entire subjection of the clergy to the civil power, struck at the vitals of the court of Rome. Pius, incensed at these proceedings, seemed ready to hurl the thunderbolts of pontifical vengeance upon the audacious and profane revolutionists; but prudence checked his arm. He apprehended that his menaces and edicts would be disregarded, and might only serve to provoke embittered hostilities. In the mean time, he endeavoured to secure the friendship of those princes whose power might afford him some protection amidst the revolutionary storm.

The bishops and priests, who acted under the new constitution of France, were not regarded as true members of the *Romish* church, by the clergy of the old school, however observant they might be of the *catholic* creed. The pope sent a brief to the king, condemning the new arrangements; but Louis was constrained to acquiesce in these and other innovations. Only three of the former bishops retained their stations: all the other prelates became non-jurors, and, with the majority of parochial ministers, were deprived of their preferments. The legislative assembly, affecting to be alarmed at the intrigues of

the clerical non-jurors, menaced them with imprisonment or exile. Many of their number emigrated in the sequel; and many were assassinated by the populace.

Under the sway of the democratic convention, so little attention was paid to religion, that it seemed to be in danger of being wholly absorbed by worldly politics. The assembly did not, indeed, expressly vote for its extinction in the new republic; but contented itself with encouraging the surrender of letters of priest-hood, and the open renunciation of all religious sentiments. At length, however, Robespierre pretended to be shocked at the growing spirit of atheism, and moved for the promulgation of a decree, favorable to the cause of religion. By this ordinance, a periodical festival was instituted in honor of the Creator of the world, or the Supreme Being; the propriety of public worship was allowed; and the immortality of the soul was recommended to universal belief. The clergy of the old school, however, were still harassed, and in danger of exile or confinement, until the legislature, in the year 1797, released them from the oaths with which their consciences were offended, and merely required them to promise submission to the government. Two years before this concession was obtained, five bishops had ventured to address a circular letter to the clergy; in which they affirmed, that religion, in the altered government of their country, had no longer a political foundation; that the connexion was dissolved between the church and the state; that the former still expected justice and protection from the latter; but, being left to itself, was obliged to take measures for the establishment of doctrinal uniformity and general regularity of discipline. They recognised the pope as the head of the church, and acknowleged the doctrines of catholicism, as interpreted and explained by Bossuet, the celebrated bishop of Meaux [n].

[n] See Mosheim's History, cent. xvii. sect ii. part i. chap. i.

Before the end of the same year, another letter was addressed to the friends of the church, proposing ten metropolitan churches for the whole republic, and a bishopric for each department; recommending a popular election both of prelates and parochial ministers; disowning the authority of apostolical vicars, or papal delegates, and advising the peremptory rejection of all bulls or briefs from Rome, unless it should fully appear that they were consonant with the ordinances and the spirit of the Gallican church [o].

When a sufficient time had been allowed for the operation of these letters, and for the private influence of clerical exhortations, an ecclesiastical council met in the French metropolis [p], consisting of thirty-eight prelates, and fifty-three representatives of the inferior clergy. The members agreed to a profession of faith, founded on the creed promulgated, in 1560, by pope Pius IV. [q]; but they were not so bigoted to this faith, as to give license or encouragement to the perpetration of any acts of violence under the pretence of defending it. However the church might be called *militant*, "it knew and authorised no other *arms* "(they said) than prayer and the word of God." The country, they added, might be lawfully defended by the people, with the arm of flesh; and the clergy were desired to inculcate the propriety and justice of such patriotic hostilities: but the church ought only to defend itself by spiritual arms. Episcopacy was declared to be essential to the proper government of the church; but royalty, of which that system was the usual accompaniment among Christian nations, did not meet with so favorable a testimony; for it was enjoined that royalty should be the object of determined hatred, because a proper knowlege of national interest strongly condemned that form of government; and it was affirmed, that the exaction of an oath,

[o] Lettre Encyclique de plusieurs Evêques de France, à leurs Frères, et aux Eglises vacantes, 1795.

[p] On the 15th of August, 1797.

[q] See Mosheim, cent. xvi. sect. iii. part i. chap. i.

against the revival of such an obnoxious system in France, was by no means repugnant to the laws of the Gospel[r].

The proceedings of this assembly were closed by an order for the communication of its decrees to the pope, who was, at the same time, earnestly solicited to convoke a general council. But his holiness declined a compliance with this request, being probably of opinion that the political convulsions of the times precluded ecclesiastical accommodation and religious union.

Amidst these arrangements, the pontiff remained at Rome, in a state of suspense and anxiety. He had already surrendered three provinces to French invaders; and he had not power to defend the rest of his territories. A republic being formed at Rome, in the year 1798, he retired into Tuscany; and, when that duchy was also revolutionised, he was sent as a prisoner of war into Dauphiné. Harassed, insulted, and oppressed, he died at Briançon[s], in the eighty-second year of his age.

CHAPTER II.

History of the Greek Church, and of the Christian Communities in Asia and Africa.

If we did not know that trifles (such is the weakness of man!) frequently produce serious animosities and permanent divisions, we might be surprised at the long dissension between the Greek and Romish churches. At the time of their separation, both communities agreed in the essentials of Christianity; and they ought to have contented themselves with that agreement, without expecting their fellow-Chris-

[r] Canons et Décrets du Concile national de France, tenu à Paris, en l'An de l'Ere Chretienne 1797; mis en ordre par les Evêques réunis à Paris.

[s] In April, 1799.

tians to concur with them in every trivial notion or fantastic opinion, in every idle ceremony, or in all circumstances of exterior worship. But, forgetting the obligations of brotherly love, they continued at variance for ages; and they are still sufficiently estranged from each other, to render the idea of an union visionary and hopeless.

The Greek church, at the beginning of the century, extended from the Red Sea to the Frozen Ocean, and from the Adriatic to the Caspian. The patriarch of Constantinople was, nominally, the head of this church; but his authority was not co-extensive with the similarity of doctrine. He held a monthly synod in that city, with the metropolitans of Antioch and Jerusalem, and twelve other prelates. In these councils he had no decisive authority: the influence of the majority, the intrigues of the more artful members, and sometimes reason or argument, decided the questions. He did not retain that effective supremacy which some of his predecessors enjoyed over the patriarchs of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine: in the extensive regions subject to the Russian despot, he had not even the shadow of power; and, between the eastern boundaries of Asia Minor and the Caspian, his jurisdiction was not honored with regard or acquiescence. Living also under the government of an infidel prince, to whom every form of Christianity was odious, he was, in fact, a slave to an arbitrary barbarian.

In the provinces of European Turkey, the members of the Greek church were, and are still, very numerous, notwithstanding the discouragement given to population by the tyranny of the government. Almost every successive grand signor thought it his duty to oppress them, that he might evince his zeal as a defender of the Moslem faith. Mustafa III. was more lenient to them than many of his predecessors; but, even under his administration, they were insulted and plundered by his Turkish subjects, and maltreated in every mode of capricious tyranny. Their hierarchy, however, was suffered to subsist; and they

were allowed to transmit to their posterity their favorite doctrines.

Frequent attempts were made by the zealous catholics, in the course of the century, to draw the Greeks into the Romish communion, not by concessions on the part of the former, but by derelictions of opinion on the part of the latter. In consequence of these endeavours, a schism was maintained in various parts of Greece and Asia Minor, and the number of proselytes to the papal church became considerable. The Mainotes, in the Morea, withstood the arts of the Romish missionaries more vigorously, even to the end of the century, than the generality of the Greeks. They assured the intruders, that they were strongly attached to the system of their own church, as opposed to that of the Romanists, whose head they considered as an unchristian schismatic, for having corrupted the purity of the true faith. They particularly condemned the prohibition of the marriage of priests, and ridiculed the issuing of bulls for the pretended rescue of souls from purgatory. They then had only one bishop; and he, like the priests, had no regular allowance, but received occasional contributions for particular masses, and cultivated the soil, or performed other labors, to procure the necessaries of life. The ecclesiastics, in general, led exemplary lives, and thus deserved that respect with which the laity treated them; and such was their spirit, that they were the first to take arms in defence of their country [a].

The schism of which we have spoken was very prevalent in Syria. At Aleppo, the northern capital of that province, the Christian church, about the middle of the century, was in a state of deplorable division.

The orthodox Greeks, or those who adhered to the old system, were less numerous than the followers of the Latin church; but, having greater interest

[a] Voyage de Dimo et Nicolo Stephanopoli en Grèce, pendant les Années 1797 et 1798; chap. xxxix.

at the Porte, they kept the bishopric in their hands. They were more rigid in the observance of fasts than the opposite party: yet the latter attended more to that point of supposed duty than the generality of Roman catholics. The Armenians were still more scrupulous in this respect; and some, it is said, would rather perish for want of proper sustenance during illness, than solicit a dispensation from the rigors of abstinence. Like the Greeks, they were divided into orthodox and schismatic Christians. The advantage of number was on the side of the former; but the others had the superiority in point of opulence. The Maronites continued to be attached to the Romish church, retaining, however, some doctrinal and ritual differences. They had a higher opinion of the sanctity or the convenience of a monastic life than the other Christians of Aleppo; but they had no monasteries in that city. The priests of these three communities were in general so poor, that those who had families were obliged to have recourse to some branch of temporal business for the augmentation of their income[b].

The state of the Greek church, in point of doctrine and practice, may be thus briefly exhibited. Its chief sacraments are baptism and the Lord's supper. To the former, which is deemed necessary to salvation, is annexed the *chrism*, or unction; and the child is dipped under water three times, in allusion to the Trinity. In the eucharist, three liturgies are used; but the ordinary one is that of St. Chrysostom. This sacrament is administered, even to the laity, in both kinds; and children are allowed to receive it. Transubstantiation is not a decided doctrine in this church. It is apparently maintained in one of the public confessions of faith; but the words used in the service itself[c] seem merely

[b] Natural History of Aleppo, by Alex. Russell, M. D. vol. ii. chap. ii.

[c] The prayer is, that God the Father would send down his Holy Spirit to sanctify the elements, and make them the body

to imply, that the supposed change is an act of the mind, not a physical conversion of the sacramental elements into the body and blood of Christ. The gross absurdity of supposing it to be an actual change of substance, does not appear to have formed a part of the early creed of the Greeks, but was, in all probability, borrowed from the wild fancies or artful inventions of Romish priests, the notorious corruptors of primitive Christianity.

The Romish notion of purgatory is denied by the votaries of this church: but they offer up prayers for those who have been removed from the world, and therefore seem to think that the soul has some place of residence from the day of death to the final judgement. They invoke a multitude of saints, and even burn incense to them. Next to Christ, the Virgin Mary and the twelve apostles are particularly honored. Works of super-erogation are disallowed. Faith and good works united are deemed requisite to produce justification.

Confession is practised, but not considered as a sacrament. It is enjoined four times in the year: but, in general, it is performed only once in that time. The penitents, however, are not required, as in the church of Rome, to make a full disclosure of all their sins, or to give a minute detail of circumstances.

Marriage is regarded as a very important object, yet not as an indissoluble obligation. Three offices or services are used in its celebration; namely, that of betrothing, crowning the individuals, and dissolving the crowns [d]. All the clergy, except bishops and monks, are allowed to enter into this union. Beyond a third time, all renewals of marriage are forbidden; and even second marriages are discountenanced. No solemnisations of matrimony are

and blood of Christ, for pardon, grace, and salvation, to all who devoutly receive them.

[d] The idea of dissolving the crowns may seem ominous; but it is the ceremony which indicates that the marriage is concluded.

permitted during the fasts, which are usually kept with great strictness.

The ecclesiastical body consists of five orders, if readers and sub-deacons be reckoned among the number: the others are, deacons, presbyters, and bishops. The ordination of the highest class is a very impressive ceremony. It terminates with a prayer from the officiating archbishop, that Christ will render the new prelate an imitator of himself, the true shepherd; that he will make him a teacher of infants, a leader of the blind, a light to those who walk in darkness; that he may shine in the world, and at last receive the great reward prepared for those who boldly contend in the cause of the Gospel, and persevere in the service of God.

Although the head of this church has lost his controlling authority over the ecclesiastical establishment of Russia, he still has the gratification of reflecting, that the *doctrinal* prevalence of the system which he superintends, includes that great empire. The Russian clergy had long enjoyed important immunities; and, although these were in some measure abridged by Peter the Great, the order still can boast of considerable privileges. Among these we may mention an exemption from taxes; and we may add, that ecclesiastics are so far favored in a judicial process, as not to be amenable before a temporal judge, unless commissaries of their own order be assessors at the trial. Before the year 1791, the commandant or chief magistrate of a district used to send to the bishop, on every new occasion, for commissaries; but, since that time, clerical deputies have been regularly and permanently appointed for that function, by a general order of the holy synod [e].

Under this synod, in the reign of Catharine II., were thirty-one *eparchies*, or spiritual governments. That council, in 1789, was composed of two metropolitans, three archbishops, two bishops, a regular

[e] Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, vol. ii.

and a secular proto-pope, or chief priest, an archimandrite, or abbot, and some inferior officers. To each eparchy belonged a consistory, formed of an archimandrite, some priors, and secular clergy. The titles of metropolitan and archbishop were not attached to a particular see, but were distinctions merely personal.

The *roskolniki*, or schismatics, as those were called who objected to the prevailing system, which they said, involved various corruptions of the doctrine and discipline of the ancient Greek church, were not only discountenanced, but were sometimes cruelly oppressed, before the time of Catharine. Many of them were put to death by the unchristian barbarity of the clergy; and it is particularly recorded, that, in the year 1722, whole families of those unfortunate sectaries, unwilling to submit to the emperor's demand of a renunciation of their opinions, enclosed themselves in barns, and perished in the flames kindled by their own hands. At the time of this persecution, the chief ecclesiastical adviser of Peter, was Theophanes, bishop of Pleskoff, afterwards archbishop of Novogorod, whose liberality of mind, however, must have rendered him averse to the murder of reputed heretics. This prelate distinguished himself by writing against the multiplication of ceremonies, the practice of idolatry, the rigors of monastic seclusion, and the various absurdities of superstition; and, while he exhorted the people to be content with praying, singing psalms, and reading the Scriptures, he advised the clergy to preach sermons of practical utility, rather than of doctrinal refinement [f].

[f] Historico-Geographical Description of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary, by Philip John von Strahlenberg, chap. viii.—The Catechism prepared by this prelate was stamped with the approbation of the holy synod, and published in the year 1766. A summary of Christian Divinity, compiled by Plato, archbishop of Moscow, was about the same time recommended to general use.

This schism has continued to our times. Catharine treated the sectaries with lenity; and we do not find that they have been persecuted since her decease. Her chief attacks, in point of persecution, were directed against the abettors and advocates of democracy; and her son Paul, in that respect, followed her example.

The Russian plebeians and peasants are remarkable for superstition. Many absurdities are related of them in that particular: but it will be sufficient to mention the practice of having about the person, or in the apartments of a house, representations of saints (called *gods*) painted on boards. These pictures are viewed with an air of high respect and reverence; and, on entering a room, persons bow to them, and repeatedly cross themselves. Even many of the opulent have these little idols in their possession, and court the favor of these imaginary gods.

Among the multiplicity of tribes subject to the Russian emperor, are many Mohammedan and Pagan communities. The former are indulged with a toleration of their worship; and missionaries are employed to convert the latter, without dragooning them into the adoption of Christianity.

In Armenia, the majority of the people are still Christians, of the Monophysite sect. They appear to be more addicted to fasting than the professors of any other religion whatever; for it is said, that they have one hundred and fifty-six fast-days in the year. Their festivals also amount to a surprising number: but it is not true, that all the days in the year are appropriated to one or other of those opposite observances. Many of the natives of Armenia are dispersed over the different countries of the East, being tolerated as sectaries, and encouraged as traders. The Georgians were accustomed to steer between the doctrines and practices of the Greeks and Armenians: but, as they are now subject to the sway of the Russian emperor, they lean more to the former system.

The Nestorians, whose leading opinion is contrary to that of the Monophysites [5], are scattered over a great part of Asia. It has been disputed, whether the Christians who inhabit the Malabar coast are really Nestorians. Dr. Buchanan denies that they are of that sect; but Mr. Wrede maintains that they are. The probability is, that the members of many of the churches upon that coast are of the Nestorian persuasion, while others have become Jacobites or Monophysites. However that may be, these congregations are far from being respectable, the members being in a state of ignorance and misery.

That species of Christianity which had been introduced into China, was tolerated for many years by the emperor Kang-hi: but, in the year 1716, he was persuaded by his pagan ministers to revive two edicts against the Christians. By one of these ordinances, they were prohibited from building churches, and making converts; and, by the other, no missionaries were suffered to preach, unless they were furnished with an imperial patent, specifying their native country, the religious order to which they belonged, the time of their arrival in China, and their engagement not to return to Europe. They remained in this state of depression until the death of Kang-hi, in 1722; and then, instead of being relieved from it, they were subjected to farther restrictions. Yong-ching, the new emperor, banished or imprisoned some of the princes of his family, and many grandees, for their favorable dispositions toward Christianity, and ordered the missionaries and their associates to be driven from the provinces into the city of Canton. Ten years afterward, they were sent to the isle of Macao; and all attempts of Christians to re-enter the empire were forbidden by the jealousy of the court. The churches were de-

[5] See Mosheim's History, cent. v. part ii. chap. v. sect. ix. xxii.

molished or secularised; and the natives who had embraced catholicism, were compelled to renounce it, or conceal their obnoxious opinions.

The religion of Jesus can boast of very few triumphs in Africa. The Christianity of Congo, or of Zanguebar, is unworthy of mention: but, in our religious progress, we must take notice of Egypt and Abyssinia.

The Copts, or the descendants of the primitive Christians of Egypt, persist in their attachment to the Monophysite doctrine. Their priests are ignorant and uninformed; but the people treat them with great respect. Monastic seclusion is very common among this sect, and great austerities are practised by many of the monks and nuns. Beside a Coptic patriarch, there is a Greek patriarch in Egypt; but the church which he rules is in a declining state.

Christianity flourishes more in Abyssinia than in Egypt, because the sovereign is himself a Christian. The hopes of restoring the Romish worship in that empire were entertained by pope Innocent XII., who was encouraged in his views for that purpose by Louis XIV. The Jesuits were eager to obtain the honor of this employment; and Poncet, a French apothecary, was sent from Cairo by the consul Maillet, with Brevedent, a respectable member of the former fraternity. The latter died in Abyssinia; but M. Poncet was introduced to the king (Yasous I.), whom, however, he did not find willing to become a convert, or to suffer his people to re-embrace catholicism. M. du Roule was afterwards deputed to the same court: but he had scarcely reached Sennaar, in 1704, when he was murdered by the natives, at the instigation of the Franciscans, who were disgusted at seeing the Abyssinian mission in the hands of the Jesuits. Oustas, who usurped the throne in 1709, was well affected to the Romish system, and secretly communed with those Franciscans who yet remained in the country: but he did

not attempt to influence the consciences of his people. David, who succeeded him in 1714, ordered three of those strangers to be apprehended; and, being condemned as heretics in an assembly of the clergy, they were stoned to death [h].

Another convocation followed, which led to intestine commotions. A new *abuna* or metropolitan announced to the clergy his idea of the consubstantiality of Christ; an opinion contrary to that which had been proclaimed at the gate of the palace [i]. The ecclesiastics of his party, elate with their supposed triumph, insulted the emperor and his court by songs and shouts; for which offence, above a hundred of them were instantly massacred by a body of pagan soldiers, and the streets of the capital were filled with slaughter. During several subsequent reigns, the affairs of the Abyssinian church were not so important as to claim our notice. With regard to the ambassy prepared by pope Benedict XIV. for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation with that church, it may suffice to observe, that it was an abortive attempt.

The state of this church, during the eighteenth century, was less corrupt and degenerate than the Jesuit missionaries represented it. It was said, that a repetition of baptism was annually administered to all adults; but this assertion has been disproved, or, at least, strongly denied. It was also imputed to the priests that they gave the eucharist improperly. They do not, indeed, make use of words so fully expressive of a belief in transubstantiation, as those of the Romish ecclesiastics: but that point reflects not the least discredit upon them.

[h] Bruce's Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, book iv.

[i] The abuna represented Christ as being "one God, of the Father alone, united to a body perfectly human, consubstantial with ours, and by that union becoming the Messiah." The emperor maintained, that the Redeemer was "perfect God and perfect man, by the union one Christ, whose body was composed of a precious substance called *bahery*, not consubstantial with ours, or derived from his mother." Neither of these opinions will be deemed strictly orthodox by sound divines.

When Mr. Bruce visited Abyssinia, he was surprised at the extraordinary number of churches in that empire. These were erected near running water, for the convenience of those ablutions which the people practised according to the Levitical law. The walls were almost covered with pictures of saints or other representations; but no figures embossed or in *relievo* were exhibited; for they considered the use of these as a species of idolatry. Each parish had an arch-priest, who superintended both its spiritual and secular concerns. The priests and deacons were allowed to marry; but the monks, who occupied huts near the churches, were required to live in a state of celibacy. The reading of Scripture, and recitation of homilies of the fathers, formed, beside the eucharist, the chief portions of divine service.

CHAPTER III.

History of the Ecclesiastical Communities of the Lutherans and Calvinists.

A SENSE of religion seems to be impressed on the minds of all nations, even the most rude and uncivilised: but, as it appeals less to the external senses than to the mind and the heart, its nature renders it peculiarly liable to dispute. The attributes of the Deity, the mode in which he governs the world, and interferes in the concerns of mortals, give occasion for varieties of sentiment, among those who are unwilling to suppose that God ever revealed his will to mankind; and, even where revelation is believed and fully admitted, many doubts arise, and diverse opinions are entertained and defended. Persons who agree in essential points, differ in those of less moment, and contend, as *pro aris et focis*, with all the vehemence of animosity, and all the bitterness of zeal. Hence, among the opposers of popery, who, in one sense,

maintained a common cause, various sects were formed, and various controversies occurred. The followers of Luther were hostile to those of Calvin: the disciples of Arminius also disagreed with the partisans of the Genevan reformer, the bigoted propagator of predestinarian absurdity, the gloomy and malignant assassin of Servetus.

The Lutherans and Calvinists continued, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to compose the most numerous protestant establishments of the European continent. The former still flourished in the northern kingdoms, and in different parts of Germany; while the latter enjoyed their religion in many of the free towns of that empire, and under the protection of several of its princes, and also retained their influence in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

Frederic, elector of Brandenburg, who became king of Prussia in the first year of the century, was more disposed to favor the Calvinists than the Lutherans; and the *reformed* took advantage of this circumstance to establish ministers of their persuasion in places where the Lutherans had hitherto exercised the chief sway. The king, however, would not suffer the animosities of the two parties to proceed to the violence of outrage; and he was not unwilling to tolerate Catholics and Jews in his dominions [a].

Reflecting on the affairs of religion, this prince was of opinion that an union of his protestant subjects would be conducive to the happiness of his people, and reflect credit on his reign; and he was encouraged, in this desirable object, by the doctors Ursinus and Jablonski. The former, though a Calvinist, had accepted from his majesty the episcopal title; and the latter was the first chaplain at court, and also superintendant of the protestant church in Poland. These ecclesiastics suggested, that one of the first steps to be taken in this business, should be the publication of the liturgy of the church of England in a German dress; and, when this translation was completed,

[a] Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Maison de Brandebourg, par le Roi de Prusse.

Ursinus wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tenison), to request his advice with regard to the proceedings best calculated for the attainment of the desired uniformity. By some negligence or mistake, the letter did not reach the primate, though it was said that he had received it, and refused to answer it. When he was informed of the scheme by a friend of Dr. Ursinus, he did not give it the least encouragement; alleging that a reported declaration of the university of Helmstadt, in the case of the queen of Spain, allowing in certain circumstances a dereliction of the protestant religion, had given him too unfavourable an opinion of the protestant churches of Germany, to permit him conscientiously to correspond with any of them [b].

The reason alleged by the English prelate may be pronounced inadequate and unsatisfactory. For the supposed opinion of one protestant university, he condemned the whole reformed body of Germany, and declined assisting in a measure that promised benefit to the protestant cause, as well as credit to the church over which he presided.

This discouragement did not prevent a renewal of the attempt after the lapse of a few years. Jablonski, in 1710, submitted the affair to the consideration of Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, who was pleased at the application, and promised his zealous aid in promoting the pious views of his Prussian majesty. Queen Anne adopted the scheme, and ordered lord Raby, her representative at Berlin, to treat upon the subject with the baron von Printzen, the chief counsellor of Frederic in ecclesiastical concerns. Several conferences ensued; and the affair seemed to be in a favorable train. Bonnet, the Prussian minister at London, was assured by secretary Saint-John, that the court and the clergy in general were very well disposed to expedite religious union; and his com-

[b] Relation des Mesures qui furent prises dans les Années 1711, 1712, et 1713, pour introduire la Liturgie Anglicane dans le Roiaume de Prusse et dans l'Electorat d'Hanovre. Londres, 4to. 1767.

munication to the king invigorated the zeal of the cabinet of Berlin. Jablonski was now ordered to compose a regular plan of ecclesiastical comprehension and reform. He had already entered with some minuteness into the considerations of public worship and church-government: and, after ulterior deliberation, he presented to the baron a plan for the establishment of episcopacy in the Prussian dominions. Mr. Ayerst, chaplain to lord Raby, proposed that the court of Hanover should be requested to join in the scheme, at least in the liturgical part of it; and Leibnitz intimated to that divine, that the princess Sophia would probably permit an English chaplain to officiate at her court, if queen Anne would defray the expence of his support [c].

When the general attention was called to the diplomatic deliberations at Utrecht, the concerns of religious union were neglected, being deemed by politicians comparatively insignificant. The zeal of Frederic declined; and, although he assigned a fund for the maintenance and theological education of some of his subjects at the English universities, he took no farther measures in the scheme of comprehension. He did not, indeed, live to see the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht: the archbishop of York, and his royal mistress, also died in the following year; and the scheme was then not merely neglected, but abandoned.

Frederic William, who obtained the crown in the year 1713, contented himself with promoting peace among his subjects of different religions, without requiring uniformity of worship; and he not only maintained toleration in his own territories, but endeavoured to secure to the protestants, in other parts of Germany, that free exercise of their religion, which had been granted by the treaty of Westphalia. Considering him as one of the champions of their cause, they requested his interposition when they were ill-treated by their religious adversaries.

[c] Relation des Mesures, &c. p. 15—37.

The influence of the French court had procured the insertion of a clause in the treaty of Ryswick, importing that the catholic religion, in the places given back by France, should be continued in the same state in which it subsisted at the time of restitution. When the diet took the affair into consideration, the protestant members refused to concur in this clause; but their remonstrances did not prevail on the emperor to with-hold that confirmation of the treaty which the Romanists desired. In the negotiations which followed the war for the Spanish succession, the claims of the protestants were neglected, and the clause was not repealed. They were even ill-treated by the elector Palatine, who deprived them of many of their public places of worship; and, as the courts of Berlin and Hanover made reprisals on the catholics, the latter were still farther inflamed into acts of intolerance, illiberality, and outrage. A convention, indeed, was signed between the contending parties, for an observance of the treaty of Westphalia; and an imperial edict was issued in the year 1720, for the redress of those grievances of which the protestants complained in the Palatinate; but both the agreement and the edict were disregarded [d].

In Sweden and Denmark, the Lutherans continued to predominate, and the established church was under their government. In the former of those realms, clerical representatives composed a part of the states or national council: but, in the latter, the clergy had no share of political power; and the superintendants, who acted in lieu of bishops, were required by the rulers of the state to propagate the doctrine of passive obedience. Charles XI. of Sweden, and his son the adventurous warrior, kept the states so far in subjection, that neither the clergy nor the laity dared to exercise the authority which the constitution allowed them: but, when Ulrica became queen, they recovered their power, and even extended it beyond the bounds

[d] Coxe's History of the House of Austria, vol. ii. chap. vii. and x.

of moderation, reducing the royal authority within very narrow limits. The queen's husband, the prince of Hesse-Cassel, renounced Calvinism to please the clergy, who were almost as unwilling to coalesce with the *reformed* church, as with catholics. It was not without great difficulty that he prevailed upon the diet to grant toleration to the Calvinists. In the year 1741, an edict was issued, by which those sectaries, and also the members of the church of England, were allowed to erect churches, and enjoy a full freedom of worship, in all the maritime towns, except Carlscrone. The Danish government likewise condescended to grant a partial toleration to the Calvinistic protestants; but the people still viewed them with an unfavorable eye.

The Lutherans lived in greater harmony with the Calvinists, (or rather in less discord,) in the electorates of Brandenburg and Hanover, than in most of the German principalities, or in either of the northern kingdoms. The Hanoverian clergy, in particular, seemed to indicate a stronger desire of fraternal union, than the ecclesiastics of other states. In the bishopric of Osnabrug, the protestants were on better terms with the catholics than in many other parts of Germany, because the sovereignty was alternately enjoyed by a Lutheran and a Romanist. In Saxony, when the elector had become a catholic, the majority of the people retained their attachment to Lutheranism, and would not suffer him to obstruct their profession of that faith. In a part of that electorate, a protestant sect, neither absolutely devoted to the Lutheran nor to the Calvinistic creed, yet professing a regard for the former system, established itself in the year 1722. When the Hussite sect seemed only to be remembered in history, and the catholics supposed it to be extinct, a party of religionists who honored the memory of the Bohemian reformer, and entertained similar sentiments, appeared in Moravia; but could not obtain, from the Austrian government, the favor of toleration. Count Zinzendorff, admiring

their zeal, and expecting, in some degree, to influence their opinions, invited them into Upper Lusatia; and the village of *Herrenhut*[c], erected under his auspices, soon rose into a considerable Moravian settlement. As he had been educated in the Lutheran persuasion, he exhorted them to join that church: but they preferred a retention of their own principles to an entire association with any other church. He was allowed to style himself guardian of the fraternity, and at length became its bishop. Disputes which arose among the members were repressed by his authority, and rules of discipline and conduct were framed under his eye. Their ministers did not deny the doctrine of the Trinity, but directed their immediate adoration to Jesus Christ. They affirmed that a Christian might ensure salvation by grace arising from a lively faith, without the absolute necessity of good works: yet the Brethren, in their conduct, by no means neglected morality. Although they professed to consider their church as an episcopal establishment, they did not suffer the bishops to exercise any jurisdiction in the first instance; for all authority originated in their grand synod, which consisted not only of bishops, but also of elders, and of deputies from every congregation. Subordinate to that assembly were the meetings of elders, both general and particular. When questions had been fully discussed by the assembled brethren, they were frequently decided by lot, which was regarded as an appeal to the Deity.

The zeal of the United Brethren gradually diffused their system over various parts of Germany, and also introduced it into Great-Britain and the United Provinces. It likewise made some progress in the northern states. In Livonia, the success of its promoters at first excited the jealousy of the Russian government; and two of the brethren were committed to prison: but the court afterwards consented to tolerate the sect.

[c] Signifying the guard or watch of the Lord.

The missionary enterprises of this fraternity were prosecuted with indefatigable ardor. In the icy regions of Greenland and Labrador, and in the glowing climate of the West Indies, the labors of conversion were cheerfully sustained. The inveterate prejudices of the Hindoos were softened by the earnest appeals of the Brethren; and the brutish barbarism of the Hottentots yielded to the force of pious persuasion [f].

With regard to the religion of the United Provinces, we may observe, that Calvinism still enjoyed the honor of being the established church, and the canons of the council of Dordrecht remained in force: but the tenets of Arminius were preferred to those of Calvin by a great number of people, in every class of society. Anabaptists, Lutherans, and other protestant sects, were freely tolerated; and the government connived at the practice of the catholic worship, long before it was regularly permitted. With respect to the form of the establishment, we may add, that each Calvinist congregation, beside one or more ministers, had deacons and elders: each deputed a minister and an elder to the classes; and each class sent deputies to the synod of the province.

In the progress of the century, religious zeal declined among the Dutch: public worship was less frequently attended; and education was less impregnated with a Christian spirit. If the theological faculty at any of the universities, the members of a class or a synod, condemned particular publications as repugnant to the established creed, or hostile to religion in general, many exclaimed against the bigotry and intolerance of these censors: but the rulers of the republic thought proper to support the decisions of the church, and ministers were sometimes deposed, for

[f] The Moravians do not appear to deserve the severe censures thrown out against them by Dr. Maclaine, in a note that is justly stigmatised by Dr. Haweis as *impure* and *malignant*, and which, indeed, must excite the disgust of every chaste and candid reader.—See the twenty-first page of the present volume for this specimen of vulgar calumny, which could not reasonably have been expected from the translator of Mosheim.

betraying, in the pulpit or with their pens, the interests of Calvinism or of Christianity. For the defence and support of that religion, the Teylerian society was formed at the Hague in 1786; and some judicious publications have arisen from the rewards offered out of the endowment.

Among the subjects of France, notwithstanding the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the consequent exile or destruction of many thousand families of conscientious protestants, Calvinism was not extinct. There was great danger in professing it under a bigoted government: yet a considerable number retained a strong attachment to its doctrines. The inhabitants of the Cevennes mountains, and of the Vivarais, in particular, were zealous in the cause; and their zeal was invigorated by the eloquence of several bold Huguenots, who had returned from exile to preach their favorite doctrines. The inhuman violence of a Romish priest added fuel to the flame. The people rose against this oppressor, put him to death, and sacrificed other catholics to their revenge. Troops were sent to restore order by summary process: the insurgents retired before them, but were not over-awed into submission. The cruel punishments to which the soldiery subjected the captive mal-contents, produced severe retaliation; and the increasing numbers of the latter so alarmed the court, that three marechals were successively sent to subdue them. Villars at length prevailed upon Cavalier, a young baker, who had assumed the command over them, to enter into a treaty in their name; and it was agreed, in the year 1704, that a general amnesty should be granted to the party; and that this leader, and four regiments of the protestants, should serve in the French army as foreign subsidiaries, enjoying the free exercise of their religion[s]. Cavalier

[s] Many of these sectaries pretended to the gift of divination; and, in the year 1705, some of them came over to Great Britain, where they met with little encouragement. Those who ventured to appear in Holland were confined as fanatics, that, amidst hard labor, they might have time to recover their senses.

was afterwards introduced at court; but, thinking himself in danger amidst the catholics, and finding that he could not procure so many followers in his new plan as he expected, he retired from France. Roland, a Calvinist who disdained submission, now acted at the head of a body of insurgents; but he soon lost his life, and many of the Huguenots of Languedoc quitted France, while the generality of those who remained, ceased to profess openly the tenets which had embroiled them with the Romanists. Some commotions occasionally ensued, from the violent proceedings of the catholics, against those who were known to be (or suspected of being) still attached to Calvinism; and, for a long course of years, the flame was rather smothered than extinguished [h].

The dissolute successor of the fourteenth Louis had not sufficient liberality of mind to restore to the protestants the plenitude of toleration. To their religion he preferred that in which he had been educated; and, though he probably would not, like his predecessor, have spontaneously annulled the edict of Nantes, he did not think that it was either consonant with the dignity or conducive to the advantage of the church to favor those who were hostile to the establishment. He therefore, by an edict of the year 1724, menaced protestant preachers with death, and their abettors with imprisonment, or the labors of galley-slaves. He also renewed the prohibition of return to all emigrants, unless they should abjure the protestant tenets, and ordered that no molestation should be given to the present possessors of the estates of refugees, while the latter retained their anti-catholic opinions. At length, however, he so far yielded to the advice of the less bigoted members of his cabinet, as to allow the votaries of the reformation to become legal husbands and wives, by having the clergy to witness their marriages as civil contracts; and it was

[h] Histoire de France sous le Regne de Louis XIV. par M. de Lairey.—Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, par M. de Voltaire; *art.* du Calvinisme.

also intimated to them, that no notice should be taken of their religious assemblies. Upon these terms, the marechal Richelieu, in 1754, re-established the tranquillity of Languedoc, where compulsory attendance upon the Romish worship, and constrained abjurations of supposed heresy, had not effected that conversion which the court so earnestly wished to produce[1].

In the disputes between Louis XV. and the provincial and Parisian parliaments, the protestants were prompted, by their zeal for liberty, to side with the opposers of the court; but they were obliged to be cautious in their proceedings, that they might not entail upon themselves the indignation and vengeance of royalty. They witnessed with secret joy the ruin of the Jesuits, the zealous supporters of catholicism, and looked forward with renovated hope to the grant of a full toleration.

The French protestants maintained an amicable correspondence with the Genevans, to whose sacramental celebrations a multitude of the inhabitants of Languedoc and Dauphiné resorted at the four great festivals of the year. They also encouraged the antipapal perseverance of the Vaudois, who, though molested by the catholic zeal of the king of Sardinia, would not suffer his priests to pervert their principles.

The inhabitants of Bern, and other protestant cantons of Switzerland, refused to grant to the Lutherans that toleration to which they were entitled. The liberal example of the Genevans, who held out a friendly hand to that sect, did not excite imitation among the followers of the Helvetic confession.

While Christian VII. and Gustavus III. reigned in Denmark and Sweden, the spirit of toleration became more prevalent in those kingdoms. By the former prince, the Calvinists were gratified with a greater degree of freedom in point of religion; but, in some places, they were not suffered to preach against other creeds and modes of worship, or to make proselytes.

[1] Vie Privée de Louis XV.

The Mennonites, though protestants, were placed on the same footing with Romanists; were not allowed to contract marriage with Lutherans without a licence, and were obliged to acquiesce in the Lutheran education of their children of both sexes. In Sweden, the diet (in 1779) granted, to foreigners settling in that country, the freedom of worship, with an exception of public ceremonies and processions; at the same time excluding them from offices in the state, and forbidding them to propagate their opinions in seminaries [k].

The Danish church, at that time, consisted of twelve superintendants or bishops, many provosts or directors of districts, parochial priests, and chaplains. The annual revenue of the metropolitan did not exceed one thousand pounds; and the income of some pastors in Iceland scarcely amounted to five pounds. In Sweden, there were fourteen bishoprics, the occupants of which had not, in general, a greater income than the superintendants of Denmark. Associated with deputies from each archdeaconry, they formed the second component body of the states or national council. The clergy of that kingdom, by order of the states, had the care of the general education of the people, all of whom, females as well as males, were required to learn the easy arts of reading and writing.

In Germany, the frequent controversies between the Lutherans and Calvinists, and also between them and the catholics, had cherished and kept up that spirit of free inquiry which originally produced the reformation. In the discussion of doctrinal points, and in bringing them to the test of Scripture, writers of different capacities and dispositions gave such varied interpretations, that many readers were perplexed and confounded, and began to doubt whether

[k] Dr. Erskine's Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy.——Yet a writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica, (edit. 1791,) after speaking of the Lutheran establishment, says, "There is not another sect in these kingdoms," [*Denmark, Sweden,* and *Norway.*] He probably borrowed the remark from some *old* geographical work.

any doctrines had ever been revealed to mankind. Some protestant authors, having seduced themselves into scepticism in the solitude of their closets, propagated their doubts among the people; still pretending, however, to be well-wishers to the cause of religion. Others openly ventured to recommend reason as a substitute for religion.

The Pietists, on the other hand, continued to promote the diffusion of religious zeal and vital Christianity. They not only withstood the efforts of infidel philosophy, but also reprobated latitudinarian indifference, censured the predication of mere morality, and raised their voices against the worldly spirit and increasing dissipation of the age. They were "exposed to much obloquy" (says an English Pietist)[1] "for their rigid maxims, and resolute rejection of all unhallowed conformity to the manners and amusements of a wicked world." "As the century advanced" (he adds) "the fervor of Pietism abated; and, iniquity abounding, the love of many waxed cold." The same zealous censor represents the generality of the Lutheran clergy, as sinking at that time into a *Laodicean state*, and "maintaining the forms and formulæ of Lutheranism, instead of the spirit of Christianity." Undoubtedly, this was the case with many of the ministers of that church: but it does not follow, because they were not continually speaking of faith and grace, that they were destitute of a Christian spirit, or regardless of the purity of religion. They might have less cant, less ostentation of piety, than those who considered themselves as the only sincere votaries of evangelical truth; but it is uncandid to insinuate that they were Christians only in name and in form, not in principle or in substance.

In Saxony and the Prussian territories, the metaphysical philosophy of Wolff, privy counsellor to Frederic William, king of Prussia, had a considerable effect in the diffusion of a sceptical spirit; and, al-

[1] Dr. Haweis.

though he was publicly censured for his pernicious writings, and deprived of a professorship at Halle, he continued to propagate his sentiments after his retreat into the principality of Hesse Cassel. He was subsequently protected by the Swedish court, but was more particularly favored by that philosophic prince who became king of Prussia in the year 1740. Professor Kant, the celebrated metaphysician, was patronised by the same monarch; and his system likewise tended to generate scepticism.

This prince, the well-known Frederic, was fond of free inquiry, and eager to evince his superiority to what he considered as idle prejudice. He therefore easily suffered himself to be persuaded by infidel philosophers, that religion was the invention of interested hypocrites and artful statesmen. He was not more favorable in this respect to Christianity than to the Moslem creed. Priests of all persuasions were, in his eye, either wilful deluders of the multitude, or the credulous instruments of delusion. These opinions he gloried in propagating among his friends; and his court thus became the seat of irreligion, and a school of impiety. It was a matter of indifference to such a monarch, what religion his subjects professed, or whether they followed any religion at all, provided that they were subservient to his military and political despotism. He considered the morality of different sects as nearly the same [m]; and, while he tolerated all, his active vigilance kept his dominions in tranquillity, undisturbed by open animosities or serious dissensions. His people were free in a religious sense, but in no other respect.

Societies of *illuminati,* or enlightened reasoners, were at length formed in some of the protestant towns and principalities of Germany, and even in several of the catholic states. At Munich, professor Weishaupt, who had received his education among the Jesuits,

[m] "Il n'y a aucune religion (he said) qui, sur le sujet de la morale, s'ecarte beaucoup des autres."

became the founder of a club of reformists; and, when he had been banished from Bavaria for his dangerous principles, he was protected and encouraged by the duke of Saxe-Gotha. Baron Knigge strenuously labored in the same cause; and, although greater effects have been attributed to these societies than their real importance may induce us to believe, it must be allowed that they paved the way for revolutionary mischief, and aided the pernicious influence of Gallic impiety and sedition.

While Louis XVI. filled the French throne, the clergy of the establishment repeatedly complained of his connivance at the encroachments of the protestants, who insulted or derided the institutions of the holy church, presumed to draw within their pale the children of catholics, taxed the people for the payment of salaries to unlicensed ministers, obtained the direction of public schools, and procured admission into the seats of magistracy. They did not, however, dare to recommend an infliction of the rigors of vengeance upon these "deluding and deluded men," but merely advised that the protestants should be *bribed* into an adoption of the Romish faith. Louis did not wish that considerations of interest should have any influence upon religious conversions; but he was willing, by occasional grants out of the royal temporalities, to assist those converts who required relief. The proselytes thus made by the church were not very numerous. The number of protestants, on the contrary, continued to increase, until the court thought it expedient to accede to their wishes. Under the administration of M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, the king issued an edict, by which they were admitted (in January, 1788) to the free practice of their religion, and to all the rights of citizens. The revolution soon followed; and all religions were then confounded in the vortex of politics.

Before that revolution commenced its attack upon all former institutions, religious as well as political, Frederic William, the successor of the infidel king

of Prussia, endeavoured to stem the torrent of latitudinarianism and of irreligion by a spirited and not injudicious proclamation[n]. We take notice of this edict, not only because it is remarkable in itself, and tends to shew the state of religion in the Prussian dominions at that time, but also because it produced a warm controversy. His majesty ordained, in the first place, that the three principal Christian creeds and systems (the Reformed, Lutheran, and Romish) should be preserved genuine. The second article provided for a continued toleration of Moravians, Mennonites, and the Bohemian brethren, beside Jews; but prohibited sects, pernicious to the state, from holding public assemblies. Thirdly, all endeavours to make proselytes, in any confession, were forbidden: yet all persons were at liberty to change their religion. Popish emissaries, monks, and ex-Jesuits, were particularly prohibited from attempting to convert those whom they called heretics. After commending the general harmony in which the clergy and laity of the three confessions seemed to live, the king ordered, that the two first churches should preserve their liturgies and directories: they might, he said, abolish immaterial ceremonies; but he would not suffer them to change any essential part of their old systems; an injunction which appeared to him to be the more necessary, as he had observed that many of the preachers of those communities denied important articles of Protestantism and Christianity, depreciated the authority of the Scriptures, and "served up again the often-refuted errors of Socinians, Naturalists[o], and Deists," under the pretence of enlightening the people. Such ministers as disapproved the creed which they had originally adopted, were required to resign their pastoral charges,

[n] Dated at Potsdam, July 9, 1788.

[o] Not the cultivators of natural history or philosophy, but the teachers of natural religion, as opposed to Christianity. The count de Buffon, indeed, was a naturalist in both senses.

rather than teach any thing contrary to the received doctrines of their church.

Several free-thinkers and latitudinarians fiercely attacked the edict, as if it had been an unwarrantable invasion of liberty of conscience; but it was ably defended by Dr. Semler of Halle, and other divines. Its assailants reprobated the arbitrary spirit that fettered the freedom of inquiry, and which commanded individuals to believe without conviction; affirmed that Christ's kingdom was not of this world, and that the penal laws of temporal governments were inapplicable to religion, and wholly unjustifiable when employed for the coercion of the conscience; and animadverted on the inconsistency manifested by a protestant ruler, in condemning and counteracting a freedom of opinion analogous to that which had produced the Reformation. The supporters of the decree denied, that it enforced belief, as people might still believe only what suited their ideas, and might even freely publish their thoughts: but when a minister, in the exercise of his pastoral charge, taught doctrines repugnant to those which he had formerly undertaken to maintain, or inconsistent with the fundamental truths of religion, there was no injustice, they said, in preventing such a preacher from continuing to be unfaithful to his trust.

Infidelity was less observable in Poland than in Prussia or Brandenburg: but that country was a frequent scene of religious dissension. The Polish protestants had long enjoyed, not merely toleration, but an equality of privilege with the catholics. After the expulsion of the Socinians, the Romanists obtained the ascendency, and gradually encroached on the rights of the protestants, for whose exclusion from the diet they procured, in the year 1733, a decree of the majority of that assembly. After the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski to the sovereignty, in 1764, the *dissidents* (under which term the members of the Greek church were included with the Lutherans and

Calvinists) had recourse to the kings of Great Britain, Prussia, and Denmark, and to the empress of Russia, who readily promised to assist them by intercession for the recovery of those privileges which had been stipulated for them in the treaty of Oliva. The diet, however, for some years, would only allow them the freedom of worship; but, in 1768, being over-awed by a Russian army, the assembly acceded to the requisitions of the four courts. Many of the catholic nobles, resenting this compliance, and disgusted at the domineering influence of Russia, took up arms for religion and liberty; and a desultory warfare commenced, which did not entirely cease before the first partition of Poland. The dissidents were then less favored than they had been by the preceding diet; but, beside toleration, they obtained seats in some of the courts of justice. When the czarina, and her allies in spoliation (the empress of Germany and king of Prussia), had seised three considerable portions of the country, her influence was paramount over that part which still retained the name of a kingdom; and she preserved peace among the votaries of the different religions. In the provinces which were ceded to Austria, the catholics gave little molestation to the dissidents, as it was apprehended that, if oppressed, they would offer themselves as subjects to the tolerant Catharine, or take refuge under the wings of the Prussian eagle [p].

By that constitution which Poland obtained in 1791 from the spirit of her nobles, but which her potent adversaries would not suffer long to subsist, toleration was more fully allowed; and, when the kingdom was finally dismembered, however unjust was the spoliation, the new rulers of the country established the security of religious opinion and worship.

In Hungary, the protestants did not enjoy, during the reign of Joseph, the full effect of his liberal declarations and fair promises. They complained that

[p] Coxe's Travels in Poland.

his edict was not properly enforced; but, after his death, their solicitations procured a favorable decree from his successor Leopold. It was ordained by the diet, in 1791, that persons of all ranks should enjoy a perfect freedom of public worship, and the liberty of erecting churches, even with steeples and bells; but that, when the protestants should wish to build a church, parsonage-house, or school, a mixed committee of the district should be holden, to ascertain the sufficiency of the proposed means, and the landlord should then fix upon the spot; that no protesttants should be compelled to attend mass, witness catholic processions, or pay dues to the Romish priests; that they might form consistories and hold synods, but that no laws or ordinances framed at those meetings should be operative without the royal confirmation; that their authority over their own schools should also be subject to their sovereign's control; and that they might publish religious books, under the inspection of censors of their own appointment, who should, however, be responsible to the government for their official conduct. It was also decreed that they should be eligible to public offices, and even to a seat in the diet, equally with the Romanists [q].

These grants were deemed, by the catholics, great *favors* and liberal *concessions*; but, by the protestants, they were considered as no more than natural *rights*. The Romish bigots, in some instances, counteracted the new ordinances, and prevented the immediate accomplishment of the patriotic intentions of the diet: but the court, and the catholics in general, were disposed to permit the execution of the decree.

The protestants of Bohemia were, at the same time, freed from all persecution and molestation, on the subject of religion. During a great part of the century, the Jews in that kingdom were more favored by its catholic rulers, than were even the Christian

[q] Travels in Hungary, by Robert Townson, LL. D.

sects: but the latter, at length, found an opportunity of emerging from their difficulties and depression.

When the revolution had broken out in France, the spirit of irreligion was more openly manifested in Germany, among the three denominations of Christians, than it had been at any time from the first establishment of the religion of Jesus in that country; and, being mingled with the desire of enjoying a greater portion of civil liberty, it prompted the people, in several states of the empire, to submit to the arms of France, soon after the war began to rage. When French fraternity had lost the charm of novelty, many repented of the blind forwardness with which they had accepted it: but, when the yoke was fixed upon their necks, it was too late to retract. In the ecclesiastical electorates, capricious varieties of opinion were substituted for the catholic creed; and, although religion was not absolutely neglected by all classes of people, either in the protestant or catholic states, the worship became less decorous and regular; the public service of God ceased, in a great measure, to be an object of devout attention.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Church of England and its Dependencies, and also of the Protestant Sects in the British Dominions.

WHEN the church of England had been rescued from danger by the seasonable exertions of the prince of Orange, and the free exercise of *particular* worship had been allowed by a wise and liberal parliament to those protestants who dissented from the *general* religion of the state, the defeat and depression of the catholics, and the removal of anxiety from the minds both of the orthodox and the sectaries, produced a degree of tranquillity which the church had not enjoyed from the time of the Reformation. The schism of the nonjurors, indeed, still subsisted at the begin-

ning of the eighteenth century; the legality of the ecclesiastical government was boldly disputed by many zealots; and a spirited contest was carried on between the high-church and low-church factions, or the Tories and Whigs of the hierarchy. But the collisions of party were less vehement, and the animosity of disputants less bitter and malignant.

If Anne had reigned immediately after the Revolution, she would not have been so ready as king William to grant toleration to dissenters. She suspected them of aiming at the ruin of the church, while they professed only a wish for an unmolested indulgence of their peculiar opinions. But, as the legislature had thought proper to gratify them with the freedom to which they had long aspired, she resolved not to encroach upon their admitted claims, or offer the least violence to what she called their tender consciences. She wished, however, to prevent the practice of occasional conformity, by which not a few presbyterians and other dissenters procured employments intended only for the orthodox. They took the sacrament according to the established forms, to qualify themselves by law for particular offices, and then frequented the meeting-houses of non-conformists. The Tories frequently introduced a bill to restrain this interested duplicity. Thrice their views were baffled by the influence of the Whigs: but when, upon a renewed attempt, clauses were inserted for the security of the protestant succession and the confirmation of the act which tolerated non-conformity, the low-church party suffered the bill to pass.

In the convocation, or clerical senate, the two parties occasionally disputed with eagerness; but the queen's ministers rather checked than promoted these debates, because they deemed it sufficient that the parliament should be the scene of contest. The literary war, on the subject of the claims and rights of the convocation, which had been carried on in the reign of William, did not cease amidst the discouragement of debates in that assembly: but it gradually

declined; and the able work of Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, seemed triumphantly to close the controversy in favor of the Whigs. The Tories had maintained, that it was the indisputable right of the clergy, not only to meet in ordinary synods, but (as often as a new parliament met) to sit and vote in convocation; and that in this assembly they might deliberate upon ecclesiastical affairs, and agree to various resolutions, without the formality of a previous licence. The opposite party referred all the acts of the church to the pleasure of the sovereign, without whose permission the clergy could not lawfully meet, debate, or enact.

It is remarkable that the former of these factions, while they disputed the power of the temporal prince in religious affairs, recommended passive obedience on the part of the people, as what the governing power of the state might justly claim; and that the Whigs, on the other hand, while they promoted the authoritative interference of the crown in the government of the church, professed a desire of clipping, on other occasions, the wings of royalty.

The predication of the maxims and doctrines of Toryism by Sacheverel, a hot-headed divine, excited in parliament a flame which diffused itself through the kingdom. The Whig leaders imprudently fanned it, and, by impeaching a zealot, whose effusions might safely have been neglected, seriously injured their own interests. The sentence of the high court of peers seemed rather to be a triumph than a punishment; and the high-church party obtained a decisive advantage in the cabinet. The queen then indulged the clergy with a greater latitude of debate in convocation, than she had allowed them in the former part of her reign.

The church of Ireland was also agitated by the distinctions of Whig and Tory; but its tranquillity was not disturbed in any remarkable degree. The catholics still formed the great bulk of the nation: but power was in the hands of their adversaries, who,

from principles of policy, and in the spirit of self-defence, were determined to hold it with a vigorous grasp. The holders of benefices, however, in the wild and unfrequented parts of that island, found it difficult and even dangerous to collect tithes from the papists, who sometimes were guilty of acts of violence and outrage.

The presbyterian establishment in Scotland remained unimpaired under the sway of Anne: and its preservation was an essential article of the legislative union which dignified her reign. The episcopalians, however, were tolerated in that country; and a bill was enacted, in 1712, by the united parliament, in confirmation of the unrestrained freedom of their worship. Public chapels, which had not been allowed to them in the preceding reign, were now erected in many parts of North-Britain; and the people, confiding in the protection of the *court*, were not afraid to dissent from the *kirk*.

These episcopalians, in general, were unfriendly to the Revolution, and to the succession of the house of Hanover: and, therefore, fell under the general suspicion of favoring the views of the queen's brother, the catholic claimant of the crown. When the elector of Hanover had ascended the British throne, this suspicion became stronger; and, during the rebellion that arose in the year 1715, those who had no concern in it were closely watched, and the ministers of their communion were restricted in their functions; with the full exercise of which, however, they were soon re-indulged.

During the reign of that monarch, the church of England continued to flourish. The king, indeed, supported that party which did not bear the character of being particularly zealous for the ecclesiastical establishment; and we need not be surprised at his habitual regard for the Whigs, as they were the only cordial promoters of those statutes and arrangements which paved his way to the throne. He encouraged those divines who recommended the principles of civil

liberty, and who at the same time wished to subject the church to the state, and give the temporal prince a commanding height of religious authority; not such, however, as would enable him to oppress the church, but only to secure its welfare and tranquillity, in the midst of general toleration.

After the suppression of the rebellion, while the nation enjoyed general repose, the church was disturbed by the warm prosecution of a literary controversy. This dispute was occasioned by a sermon which the king (who heard it) ordered to be printed. Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, who had been honored with a vote of the house of commons, requesting the crown to reward his services, as a friend of liberty and of the protestant settlement, was the preacher of this discourse, in which he delivered his sentiments on the subject of Christ's kingdom or church. He endeavoured to prove, that the true church did not require any other than spiritual sanctions; that it was not intended by its divine founder to be supported by political *encouragements*, or checked by political *discouragements;* that such interferences, on the part of the state, tended to give to the church a worldly character, not altogether consistent with genuine piety, and not favorable to pure or sublime devotion; and that the ecclesiastical establishment would flourish more under its own guidance, than under temporal direction. The kingdoms of this world, he said, could not suggest proper ideas of that government which ought to prevail, in a visible and sensible manner, in Christ's kingdom. The sanctions of Christ's laws, appointed by himself, were not the rewards of this world, not the offices or glories of this state, not the pains of imprisonment or of exile, or the smaller discouragements that belong to human society; these could not be the instruments of such a persuasion as would be acceptable to God. To "teach Christians that they must either profess, or be silent, against their own consciences, because of the authority of others over them, was to found that authority upon the ruins

of sincerity and common honesty; to teach a doctrine which would have prevented the Reformation, and even the existence of the church of England." No power, repugnant to the supreme authority of Christ, could be justly claimed over the church by Christians, even of the highest rank. His supremacy, as legislator and judge, no temporal or human power ought to infringe or invalidate. These opinions were censured in convocation, as tending to produce disorder and anarchy in the church, and to prevent the due subserviency of that body to the state; and they were combated in print by the celebrated Sherlock and other divines. The dispute was denominated the Bangorian controversy; and, when it ceased, the same diversity of sentiment remained, which had before prevailed on the subject. Such is the frequent result of a literary dispute!

While the controversy was at its height, the dissenters were gratified, in the session of 1718-9, by the introduction of a bill, calculated to relieve them from those tests to which the bishop of Bangor objected: but it did not pass in that favorable shape which it assumed at its first appearance; for it did not provide, as the sovereign wished, for the repeal of the sacramental test, although it annulled the acts against schism and occasional conformity.

The dissenters affirm, that tests of this kind are the remains of a persecuting spirit, and are therefore disgraceful to a government which professes to avoid persecution. When conscientious individuals, they say, are excluded, on account of their religious opinions, from those offices and preferments which are bestowed on their fellow-citizens, they do not enjoy the full rights of toleration. It is not sufficient that they are allowed to worship God in their own way, if they be debarred from the general advantages of that community with which they are connected. Their claims, we answer, might be admitted where no particular religion is established by law and authority, as preferable to all other creeds and systems: but, where

an ecclesiastical establishment forms a part of the constitution, it is by no means unreasonable to exclude, from its advantages and emoluments, those who are unwilling to conform to it. It is the natural character of sects to be hostile to each other; and those who differ from the establishment cannot be expected to be its defenders or preservers. To guard against the intrusion of such men, it is ordained that conditions should be annexed to the acceptance of benefices; and, if the consciences of individuals should be too scrupulous to suffer them to accede to the terms, they ought rather to blame themselves than the government, for the want of preferment in that church to which they are not closely allied; or (to put the affair in another point of view) they may congratulate themselves on their disinterested piety. But tests, they say, only serve to make hypocrites; for many will be induced to conform outwardly, who secretly retain their supposed heresy: only good men, therefore, or the ingenuous and sincere professors of religion, are discountenanced and stigmatised. We answer, that it is not the wish of the rulers of the state to obtain merely exterior conformity: that is an accidental circumstance, arising from the interested views of the candidates for preferment; and there is surely less danger in having a few hypocritical intruders, than in opening the doors of the church to all who may choose to dissent from its doctrines; the majority of whom, though many of them may be pious and worthy men, would wish to overturn the prevailing system.

The utility of the test, as a barrier to the church, has influenced the greater part of the nobility, and also of the national representatives, to withstand all the efforts made by the dissenters for its annulment; and it is not very probable that the present generation will witness its removal. It has repeatedly resisted, in our times, all the eloquence of latitudinarian orators, and all the arts of presbyterian and independent sophists. The chief objectors to it would, perhaps, if their system should ever be predominant, recommend

a stronger exclusion of all other religionists from power: such is the perverseness, such the selfishness of human nature!

The tolerant disposition of the king induced him to disapprove the violence of the Tories, who endeavoured to procure a new penal act against the Arians and Socinians, and all who might be guilty of blasphemy and profaneness. The Whigs strenuously opposed the bill; and it was not suffered to be added to the statutes of the realm. The same party checked the spirit of debate which agitated the ecclesiastical senate; and, from that time, the two houses of convocation have only met *pro formâ*, with every new parliament.

During the remainder of this reign, the church of England, and also that of Ireland, enjoyed tranquillity: but the increasing liberty of the times encouraged a freedom of thinking, which led some bold spirits into a denial of Christianity and of all divine revelation. Anthony Collins was one of these assailants; and he rendered himself so obnoxious to the clergy, that they reviled him as an atheist. As he had attacked revelation under the government of a devout queen, it was not likely that he would refrain or desist when the sovereign (though not a free-thinker) was less religiously disposed. He therefore again took up the pen, and, in 1724, published a Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion. Some able theologians strenuously defended the faith and system which he thus attacked; and his Scheme of Literal Prophecy likewise drew forth spirited replies and indignant animadversions. Bernard de Mandeville, an emigrant Dutch physician, also wrote, both in this and the succeeding reign, against Christianity. Dr. Matthew Tindal, a professor of the civil law, represented this religion as being coëval with the creation;—in other words, he controverted the credibility of Christ's mission; and, alleging the sufficiency of natural religion, denied the expediency of any revelation of the divine will. He even affected

to think that such a communication was incompatible with the rights of man. This bold attack was repelled by the learning of the orthodox Waterland, and the ability of the virtuous though schismatical Foster.

We do not find that any new sects arose in this island under the government of the first George; but, in the long reign of his son, various instances of schism occurred, both in North and South Britain. To the former of these reigns may be assigned the formation of a religious *party*[a], which, although it never became numerous, drew some distinguished men into its vortex. Mr. John Hutchinson, a pretender to philosophy, controverted the Newtonian system[b], substituted a *plenum* for a *vacuum*, and ridiculed the laws of gravity. The true system of nature, he said, was to be found in the writings of Moses; and no philosophy could be deemed correct, except that of the Hebrew Scriptures. With regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, he advanced a fanciful opinion, importing that the idea of three persons of one and the same essence answered to fire, light, and spirit, the three grand agents in nature, or the three modifications of the same substance, namely, air. His opinions were eagerly espoused, and warmly recommended, by Mr. Julius Bate, whose zeal he rewarded by procuring him a benefice. Sixteen years after his death, his system was defended by Mr. George Horne, a young clergyman, whose merit afterwards elevated him to the episcopal dignity. Forbes, the Scotish judge, also wrote in its vindication; Mr. Romaine, the popular preacher, gave his assent to it; Dr. Wetherell, William Jones, and other divines not destitute of learning, regarded it as worthy of adop-

[a] As the followers of Hutchinson did not form a distinct church or society, and continued to belong to the church or body with which they were formerly connected, they did not so far give way to schism as to compose a sect.

[b] In a work entitled, "Moses' *Principia*," the first part of which appeared in 1724.

tion and support. Bate and Spearman, the editors of Hutchinson's works, maintained, not (as some have interpreted the author's meaning) that the sun moves and the earth stands still, but that no scriptural passages, properly construed, are repugnant to the Copernican hypothesis respecting those parts of the universe.

A secession from the established church of Scotland took place in the year 1727, in consequence of the independent spirit of John Glas, who, disapproving every establishment of a *national* church, maintained that all churches ought only to be *congregational;* in other words, that no general church should be formed for a nation, but that each religious society in a kingdom or state should be self-constituted and controlled only by itself. For this and other opinions, he was suspended from his ministerial functions, and, for continued contumacy, he was deposed from the rank of minister, first by a provincial synod, and afterwards (in 1730) by the general assembly of the Scotish church. He persisted, however, in the propagation of his sentiments, both by preaching and writing, and formed several congregations, of which the most numerous was that of Dundee [c].

While Mr. Glas, and those who adopted his opinions, were employed in strengthening their secession, some other divines, on different grounds, were meditating a retreat from the establishment. These ministers wished to maintain the national church in its original strictness; and, as they could not accomplish that object, they resolved to form new congregations. Supposed infringements of the constitution of the kirk had excited their strong disgust. They complained of the laws of patronage, and wished for a popular election of ministers: they alleged that the right of protest against the proceedings of the assembly had been invaded, and that the rulers of the kirk, beside acting arbitrarily, suffered its doctrines to be cor-

[c] Adam's Religious World Displayed, vol. iii. p. 170—6.

rupted. Four ministers were suspended from their parochial functions, in 1733, for the freedom of their animadversions on these points; but the assembly reinstated them in the following year: yet, as the grievances of which they complained were not redressed, they refused to re-join the establishment. They strengthened their interest by considerable adjunctions of force, drawn from the ranks both of the clergy and laity, particularly after they had published a second *testimony* of the grounds of their secession. Being cited to appear before the assembly, and refusing to acknowlege its jurisdiction, they were debarred, in 1740, from all clerical functions in the kirk, and excluded from all emoluments connected with that church. It may be proper to mention, that Ebenezer Erskine, who had acted as minister at Stirling, was the chief of these seceders [d].

When the seceders had formed three presbyteries, a division arose among them, in 1747, in consequence of an oath which some of them deemed inconsistent with the sentiments avowed in their *testimony*. It was the ordinary oath of a burgess, in support of the *true religion* established by law. We cannot, said one party, conscientiously honor with that appellation the establishment from which we have seceded; while the other members of the synod contended, that the oath might safely be taken, as the religion of the state was still the true faith, though many of its ostensible votaries had departed from its principles, or loosely professed it. The former, who were called *Anti-burghers*, prevailed on this occasion, and voted, that the oath was incompatible with the testimony: they even excommunicated the members by whom it was vindicated. This idle dispute long continued to keep the seceders in distinct synods: and, at the close of the century, the schism was not entirely healed, though the two parties were less hostile than they had been.

[d] Adam's Religious World Displayed, vol. iii. p. 193—6.

The secession of Mr. Glas was continued by Robert Sandeman, who, in 1757, published his opinions in a series of letters, which led to the establishment of several congregations in England, as well as in Scotland. The sect also extended itself to North-America, particularly to New-England. Its members were of opinion, that all who *found* the apostolic report concerning the death and resurrection of Christ *true in their minds*, possessed that *faith* from which *justification* resulted, even if they were the most sinful of mankind; that, though good works be not essential to justification, it is proper to observe the moral precepts which were inculcated in the times of the apostles; that brotherly love and social kindness ought strikingly to mark the demeanor of Christians; that such love, however, ought not to preclude the excommunication and disgrace of an offending brother; and that, in this and other cases of deliberation, not merely a majority, but the whole congregation, ought to decide. They required the sacrament of the eucharist to be taken every week; and they encouraged a great frequency of prayer. They had *love-feasts*, or meetings of mutual hospitality, which were terminated with hymns and the kiss of charity; and, in the same spirit of fraternal affection, they inculcated the maxim of a community of goods [e].

In the same reign, a sect, which soon became far more numerous and flourishing than those now mentioned, arose in England, and spread over the British dominions. We have already remarked, that the animosities between the orthodox and the dissenters had gradually subsided after the Revolution; and we may add, that this diminution of rancor was more particularly observable after the accession of the Hanoverian family to the throne, when the principles of toleration were more fully established amidst the progress of free inquiry. At the same time, the clergy of the establishment seemed in general to sink into a

[e] Adam, vol. iii. p. 177—90.

lukewarmness and indifference which disgusted all but the worldly-minded pursuers of immediate interest. Infidelity also gained ground among the laity, and sneers at religion were beginning to be a part of the fashionable system.

This degeneracy was observed with sensations of horror by John and Charles Wesley, who were then students at the university of Oxford, and had contracted a serious turn of mind from the writings of William Law, the celebrated mystic. These devout brothers passed a great part of their time in religious conversation, in reflecting on the interesting contents of the Holy Scriptures, and in private prayer. They were joined by some other academics who were religiously disposed; and a sect which afterward made an extraordinary progress, took its rise in the year 1729, deriving the appellation of *Methodists* from the regular distribution of their time, their orderly and composed demeanor, and the supposed purity of their religious principles. Mr. Hervey, the author of the Meditations, occasionally attended their meetings; and, in 1735, they were gladdened with the adjunction of a young enthusiast, named George Whitefield. In that year, the two Wesleys undertook a voyage to Georgia, to infuse religious notions into the minds of the savages, and impart to the colonists the doctrine of *saving grace:* but their mission did not produce any extraordinary effect. When they had left the province, Mr. Whitefield undertook the task of chief missionary; and he was considerably more successful than they had been[f].

Pure, genuine, evangelical religion, or that which Mr. John Wesley considered as such, was at length[g] publicly preached by him, after his return to Great-Britain, not in the churches of the metropolis or of the different counties, (for the orthodox incumbents

[f] Nightingale's Portraiture of Methodism, or impartial View of the Rise, Progress, Doctrines, Discipline, and Manners, of the Wesleyan Methodists; Letter 5. 7, 8. Gillies' Life of Whitefield.

[g] In the year 1738.

would not suffer him to enter their pulpits,) but in the open air and in the fields. As souls might be saved even in this seemingly irregular way, it was far better, he said, so to preach, than not to preach at all. He soon drew many into his opinions, and propagated, with great success, the doctrine of salvation by faith. For his new society he instituted rules, not inexpedient or injudicious, recommending an orderly behaviour and an avoidance of dissipation and licentiousness. Meeting-houses were gradually erected by his followers, and, in defiance of the insults of the populace, and the sneers of the higher orders, methodism extended itself into all parts of England and Wales, made some progress in Scotland, and crossed the sea into Ireland.

A division of sentiment, between Wesley and Whitefield, resulted from those deliberations and reflexions which occupied the mind of the latter, while he acted as a preacher beyond the Atlantic. He became more inclined to Calvinism than to Arminianism, to which the former was well affected. This difference, however, did not produce in their minds the bitterness of animosity. Each spoke favorably of the Christian piety of his *quondam* associate; and, if not cordial friends, they were not enemies to each other.

The opinions and the piety of Mr. Whitefield recommended him to the notice of a devout peeress, who appointed him her chaplain, and patronised him through life. This lady was Selina, countess dowager of Huntingdon, who liberally promoted the erection of meeting-houses for the Calvinistic Methodists, and erected a college at Treveka (in Monmouthshire) for the instruction of future preachers. Happy in the idea and prospect of drawing sinners from the error of their way, and of diffusing an acquaintance with the Scriptures, as understood and explained by Mr. Whitefield and his associates, she disregarded the ridicule to which she was exposed by a taste so unusual among

persons of rank, and prosecuted her religious career with inflexible perseverance. [h]

The proselytes of Whitefield were less numerous than those of Wesley, and their association was less compact. Their ministers and places of worship were respectively supported by the different congregations, not (like those of the Wesleyan sect) by a general fund. The former had not an annual court for the government of the whole body: but the latter had a regular session, under the name of a *Conference*, in which the affairs and circumstances of the confederacy were examined, funds provided, abuses corrected, and grievances redressed. This meeting was composed of preachers chosen by the assemblies of different *districts*, as representatives of the Methodist connexion, and of the superintendents of the *circuits* (or inferior divisions): it was at first limited to one hundred of the senior itinerant predicators; but, in the sequel, all the preachers were permitted to assist, if they were so inclined, or had an opportunity of attending. At first, laymen were allowed to preach; but ministers were afterwards ordained for that purpose by the clerical heads of the society. It may here be observed, that Wesley and some of his associates had taken orders regularly in the church of England; a circumstance which increased their ministerial respectability in the general estimation, but did not make any addition to their consequence in the opinion of the devotees of grace, who were ready to listen with profound attention to the effusions of the lowest and most illiterate mechanics. Speaking of these "unlettered men," Mr. Wesley affirmed, that they

[h] Between the sects thus formed, the chief points of difference are the following. The Whitefieldian or Calvinistic Methodists do not admit the possibility of attaining perfection in this life; but the followers of Wesley believe that it may be attained. The latter substitute imputed faith for imputed righteousness. They reject the doctrine of predestination, and also that of irresistible grace; both of which are maintained by the disciples of Whitefield and the followers of lady Huntingdon.

had " help from God for that great work, the saving of souls from death, since he had enabled, and did enable them still, to turn many to righteousness.— Thus hath he destroyed the wisdom of the wise, and brought to nought the understanding of the prudent."

In speaking of the institutions and practices of the Methodists, their *agapæ* or love-meetings, introduced by Mr. Wesley, must not be forgotten. Once in every quarter of a year, after the religious service of the day, a considerable number of devotees, of both sexes, *broke bread* with each other. Alms were then collected for the poor members of the society. The preacher having related his *experience*, or the history of the first infusion of the holy spirit on his mind, of his " trials, backslidings, persecutions, and comforts," amidst the sighs and groans, the devout aspirations and ejaculations of many of his auditors, another arose, and pursued the same course. Hymns, sung at intervals, enlivened the entertainment, which usually ended in a " little spiritual romping, and holy confusion." [1] Beside these meetings, the Methodists had *watch-nights*, or midnight assemblies for praying and singing. The *love-feasts* were borrowed from the Moravians, with whom Mr. Wesley at first associated, but whose communion he soon renounced.

The same pious and indefatigable preacher, to counteract the misconceptions of the character of a Methodist, fully stated the " distinguishing marks" of his followers. Those marks, he said, were not to be found in " their opinions of any sort," in their words and phrases, or in any desire of being " distinguished by actions, customs, or usages, of an indifferent nature, undetermined by the word of God;" nor did they lay the whole stress of religion upon any single part of it. But they were distinguished by having the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, by being

[1] Portraiture of Methodism, letters 21 and 22.—Mr. Nightingale does not inform us, whether these meetings terminate with the kiss of charity, as did the agapæ of the primitive Christians: but that may be included in the romping.

always happy in God, ever resting on him, giving thanks for every thing, praying constantly with earnestness and fervor; by purifying their hearts from the lust of the flesh and of the eye, from envy and malice, from pride and petulance; by doing kind offices to neighbours and strangers, to friends and enemies; and by other fruits of a *living faith*. Nothing, he added, was required by St. Paul but the faith here mentioned. By that alone could any one be justified, or accounted righteous before God; and the remission of sins could only be obtained through the merits of Christ, not by the good works or supposed deserts of individuals. Holiness of heart and life would flow from such faith: but good deeds without it would be inoperative and nugatory. No man could produce it in himself, as it was the work of omnipotence. It was the free gift of God to those who were before "ungodly and unholy, and fit only for everlasting destruction." He who received it was born again, yet was not so perfectly regenerate, as to be fully sanctified; for there would still be some struggles between the old and the new man, which would not cease before the Holy Spirit had given to the zealous Christian "a new and clean heart." He would then attain the *acmè* of sanctification, and be qualified for the society of "just men made perfect." [k]

Thus plausibly did Mr. Wesley vindicate his opinions; and he continued to propagate them with zeal and success. He did not, like the primitive Christian preachers, prosecute the great work "in stripes and in imprisonments;" but he carried it on "in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings;—amidst evil report and good report." He sometimes preached four times in one day, in places considerably distant from each other; and his zeal seemed so far to invigorate his frame, that he fainted not in his spiritual course. Not content with preaching, he promoted, by writing, the system which he deemed most conformable to the

[k] History of Religion, vol. iv.

will of God, the instructions of our Redeemer, and the suggestions of the Holy Spirit.

Mr. Whitefield's constitution did not preserve itself so long unbroken, or so well support the fatigue of preaching, as that of Mr. Wesley; for he died of a disorder of the lungs, in 1770, at the age of fifty-five years; whereas the life of Wesley was not closed before he had made some progress in his eighty-eighth year.[1] In the latter part of his life, many of the hearers of this venerable preacher were almost induced to imagine, in the enthusiasm of the moment, that they were listening to the sacred effusions of a primitive apostle.

Nearly at the same time with Mr. Wesley, died the countess of Huntingdon, who, although she admired the eloquence of Mr. Whitefield, and approved the fundamental principles of his system, organised a society that differed in some points from his sect, and which, indeed, deviated less from the church of England. Her seminary at Treveka, not being endowed, expired with her: but a new one quickly arose at Cheshunt, from which have issued some distinguished preachers.

Dissensions existed among the Methodists at the time of the decease of their founder: but an interval of six years elapsed before these differences of sentiment produced an actual separation. The liberties of their church, and the rights of the people, formed the grounds of dispute. On pretence of giving due support to the plan of itinerancy, some leading ministers had endeavoured to obtain an exorbitant degree of power over the community and the junior preachers; and they managed the conference in a way which tended to secure this power. Disgusted at these arbitrary proceedings, Mr. Kilham, and other members of the sect, applied to the general assembly for a redress of grievances, and for an admission of the laity to a proper share in the general government of the

[1] He died in March 1791.

society. Repeated applications and remonstrances being wholly fruitless, and Kilham being expelled from the fraternity by the ruling party, about 5000 discontented members seceded from the connexion, in the year 1797, and formed independent arrangements on a popular basis. Another body of seceders, assuming the uncouth appellation of *Christian Revivalists*, "claimed (says an historian of the Wesleyan sect) a right to indulge their propensities to prayer and praise, at all times, and on all occasions [m]."

A sect less obnoxious than the methodists to the orthodox clergy, assumed the denomination of *United Brethren*. These were called Moravians by the public, and are said to have first appeared in England in the year 1728. Their rise and progress upon the continent we have already noticed. They were favored with the patronage of some of our prelates, (particularly archbishop Potter,) by whose recommendation they obtained a parliamentary recognition, in 1749, as composing an ancient protestant episcopal church. As their number increased, so did their zeal; and they meritoriously distinguished themselves by their eagerness for the propagation of Christianity among pagans and barbarians. A society was formed at London for this purpose; and missionaries were employed with success both in the eastern and western hemispheres. The Brethren were opposed in their views by numerous adversaries, who accused them of disseminating pernicious doctrines, and indulging in dissolute and immoral practices, particularly at their love-feasts: but they repelled these charges with effect, and acquired the esteem of unprejudiced observers of their conduct.

Near the close of the century, this sect had three provincial settlements in England, beside meeting-houses or chapels in London and some other towns. At the same time, the Brethren had six settlements in North-America. The most flourishing was that

[m] Portraiture of Methodism, letter xliv.

Bethlehem in Pennsylvania; an establishment which was distinguished by the moral respectability, decorous behaviour, and philanthropic spirit, of its members. They "studied (as we are informed by an English visitant of their settlement) to render their conduct strictly conformable to the principles of the Christian religion. They seemed to have only one wish at heart,—the propagation of the Gospel and the good of mankind." They were active and industrious; carried on manufactures of woollen and linen, and indeed practised all the necessary arts of life; and, at the same time, they did not neglect literary pursuits. Three of the largest houses in the town were respectively occupied, in 1797, by unmarried young men, young women, and widows, who were employed in various arts, and lived in a monastic or conventual mode. It may be added, that the savages are more amenable to conversion, under the influence of arguments and persuasions offered by the Moravians, than from the endeavours of other votaries of Christianity [n].

Amidst the progress of sectarian opinions, and particularly while the Methodists and Moravians were extending their influence, an able defender of the establishment rose into notice and reputation. This was William Warburton, a provincial clergyman (afterwards bishop of Glocester), who, in a work which appeared in the year 1736, enforced the "necessity and equity of an established religion and a test-law, from the essence and end of civil society." In his next performance, he was less successful in point of argument. It was entitled, "the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future state of Rewards and Punishments, in the Jewish Dispensation." We do not dispute the divinity of the mission of that legislator, while we believe it to be sufficiently evident, that the doctrine in question

[n] Weld's Travels through the States of North America, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797; letter xxxvii.

was a part of the ancient Jewish creed. This work was answered by Dr. Middleton, Stebbing, and other divines, to whom Warburton replied with contemptuous acrimony. During the rebellion of the year 1745, he was one of the assailants of popery, and assisted in confirming the zeal of the protestant majority of the nation. He afterwards took part in the controversy occasioned by Dr. Middleton's Enquiry concerning the Miraculous Powers supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the earliest Ages[o]; a dispute in which he was more orthodox than the ingenious author whom he opposed; who maintained, that miracles had ceased at the expiration of the apostolic age. Dr. Warburton also defended revealed religion with spirit against the infidel philosophy of lord Bolingbroke, the annunciation of whose unpublished works had alarmed the votaries of Christianity; and an answer from him to Hume's Natural History of Religion, roused into asperity the feelings of that artful sceptic.

The two free-thinkers whom we have here incidentally mentioned, call for more than a transient notice, in a history of that religion which they endeavoured to undermine and subvert. Bolingbroke was a man of great talents, an able orator, a polite scholar, and an interesting writer. As a statesman, however, he did not evince that wisdom which might have been expected from his abilities; and, as a philosopher, he so conducted his inquiries, as to persuade himself into a disbelief of the Christian revelation, while he outwardly supported that establishment which connected this religion with the state. By furnishing his friend, the bard of Twickenham, with the philosophical basis of the Essay on Man, he en-

[o] Until the Reformation, it was the general opinion, that a miraculous power had continued in the church from the æra of Christianity. It was afterwards maintained by protestants, that such a power did not extend beyond the first three centuries from that epoch; but the Romanists affirm, that it is still exercised by the saints of their church.

tailed upon that writer the suspicion either of being unfriendly to revelation, or of not fully comprehending the tendency of his own poem. Crousaz, a Swiss professor, reprobated the Essay as a system of fatality and naturalism; and, although it was vindicated by Warburton, the defence was not generally regarded as satisfactory. Pope, however, thought the attack sufficiently repelled, and thanked his clerical advocate for what he termed a clear and full answer to the charge.

Bolingbroke's chief attacks upon Christianity were comprehended in his posthumous works. These he ordered to be published[p]; and therefore he deserves the stigma of a propagator of impiety; a practice which he had condemned (in a private letter) as mischievously atrocious. As soon as they appeared, they were read with avidity; but they did not answer the expectations either of his friends or of the public in general. His reasoning was found to be feeble and inconclusive; and his weapon, instead of being the club of a giant, seemed merely to be the dart of a pygmy.

David Hume possessed greater acuteness than the profane peer. His vanity would not suffer him to wait for his death before he should illuminate the world with his anti-religious writings; and he attacked Christianity with a degree of insidious art, which seduced many readers into the paths of infidelity. He ridiculed the belief in miracles, and sneered at other parts of the Christian creed. Campbell and Adams took the field against him, as champions of the miraculous powers of the apostolic age; and other divines defended with zeal the general cause of orthodoxy. It was in consequence of his infidelity, that he was disappointed of a professorship of moral philosophy, which he wished to obtain; and, in the general assembly of the kirk, it was proposed that a vote of censure should pass against him for his attacks upon the reli-

[p] The editor was David Mallet, the poet.

gion of his country; but this was not deemed necessary by the majority. In the words of Bolingbroke, (applied to free-thinkers in general,) Hume was a pest of society, because he endeavoured to loosen its bands, and to remove at least one curb out of the mouth of that wild beast, man, who required many more curbs.

While infidelity spread on one hand, sectarianism or nonconformity increased on the other. The Baptists, Anabaptists, or Anti-pædo-baptists, were then gaining ground in this country. The *remonstrant* or *general* Baptists were openly joined, in 1747, by the learned but eccentric Whiston, who was of opinion that they were the best Christians in the kingdom, both in doctrine and practice, and "the only body of Christian people who rightly constituted their three orders of ecclesiastical governors, *bishops* [*angels* or *messengers*], *presbyters*, and *deacons*." He recommended their *immersion* of *adults*, as the genuine practice of the apostolic age: he agreed with them in believing the *millennium;* and he adopted, with them, the idea of *hades*, or an "intermediate state and place between heaven and hell." He was pleased with their "abstaining from blood and things strangled," and with the practice of some of their congregations, of praying over the sick, and "anointing them with holy oil, upon the confession of their sins;" and, with many of those sectaries, he denied original sin. But he blamed them for dipping only once, instead of practising the *trine immersion;* for using wine undiluted with water in the sacrament (an abuse which, he said, had also crept into the foreign protestant churches); and for requiring that such as had been baptised in infancy, or by sprinkling, should be re-baptised before they could be admitted into this sect [q].

[q] Memoirs of the Life of Mr. William Whiston, written by himself, p. 461—487.—Before this divine entered into the fraternity of Baptists, their ablest defender was Dr. John Gale, whose animadversions on Dr. Wall's History of Infant Baptism influenced James Foster to join the sect. This convert became an

He afterwards endeavoured to form an union of the Baptists with the presbyterians and independents; and, with this view, he recommended and re-published some "heads of agreement assented to by the united ministers in and about London [r], formerly called presbyterian and congregational." But all his efforts, and those of other divines in the same cause, were rendered abortive by the prejudices of some, the vanity of others, and the general want of a conciliatory spirit.

The *Calvinistic* or *particular* Baptists, who had little communication with the former class, augmented their number much more considerably than the remonstrant or Arminian division; but they had not in their sect so many respectable ministers as the other class could boast. Some congregations of both classes were also called *Sabbatarians*, from keeping their sabbath on Saturday.

With an exception of the time of Oliver Cromwell, when a Baptist church subsisted at Edinburgh, no traces of the sect have been discovered in Scotland before the year 1765, when a congregation was formed by Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Mac-Lean. The latter not only assisted the former in preaching, but wrote several vindications of *Believer-Baptism*, against the attacks of the advocates of *infant-sprinkling*. These ministers and their followers maintained, that, as only the baptism of believers could be justified by Scripture, infants, being unable to believe, ought not to be made partakers of that sacrament: yet, they thought, there was reason to conclude that children, recommended to Christ by the prayers of believing parents, would be saved, even without that holy ceremony. They admitted that mere baptism, without proofs of faith and spiritual conversion, would be insufficient to

admired preacher and an esteemed writer; and his merit would have reflected honor upon any society.—We may here incidentally mention the growing connexion between the baptists and independents, the latter usually admitting the former into their communion.

[r] In the year 1691.

save adults. Faith, they said, would operate in that respect without good works; yet the effect of true faith and of God's grace would appear in the performance of just, virtuous, and benevolent acts [s].

In the same division of this island, another party quitted the establishment [t], and assumed the title of the *reformed Presbytery;* a less modest denomination than the *dissenting Presbytery*, an appellation which has also been given to these descendants of the old supporters of the solemn league and covenant. Persecuted in the reigns of the arbitrary brothers, Charles and James, the covenanters enjoyed tranquillity after the Revolution; but they were not satisfied with the religious arrangements of that period. They looked back with regret to the good old times, when the reformed faith was at it's zenith in Scotland, and when the three kingdoms were united in the sacred bonds of the same pure religion. Lamenting the defection of the national rulers, and the majority of the people, from the true principles of the Reformation, a party of religious mal-contents renounced all connexion with the *revolution kirk*, and, under the guidance of Mac-Millan and Nairn, formed a seceding presbytery. By these ministers, others were selected for the same functions; and the secession has been continued to the present time. Beside the congregations of this complexion in North-Britain, there are several in Ireland, and some in North-America. The members profess to follow the Scripture as their principal guide, and the ordinances of the Westminster assembly in the next place. They disapprove the high authority assumed by the state over the church of Christ, as the fruit of worldly policy, rather than a claim justified by the genuine spirit of religion. Yet they submit peaceably to the higher powers, and do not indulge in the clamors of sedition or the murmurs of disaffection.

[s] Adam's Religious World Displayed, vol. iii. p. 233, &c.
[t] In the year 1743.

Their worship is thus described by one of their own ministers [u]: "Public prayers, with the heart, and with the understanding also, and in a known tongue, but not in written or in humanly prescribed forms; singing psalms of divine inspiration, and these alone; reading and expounding the Scriptures; preaching and receiving the word; administering and receiving the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper; together with public fasting and thanksgiving; are considered by them as the divinely instituted ordinances of religious worship, while they reject all ceremonies of human invention." They are, indeed, rigid followers of the Calvinistic system; and their strictness is probably the reason of the paucity of their congregations.

While these reformers were slowly increasing their numbers, a more considerable sect, in the year 1752, departed from the establishment. Mr. Gillespie, having opposed the reception of a new minister, whose appointment was unpleasing to the majority of the inhabitants of Inverkeithing, was expelled from the church in which he officiated; but he soon found followers, who, like him, wished to throw the election of pastors into the hands of the people, and formed a congregation at Dunfermline. The *Presbytery of Relief*, in allusion to the desired relief from the arbitrary rigor of the laws of patronage, was the denomination assumed by this body of seceders. They were more liberal than the generality of presbyterians; for they were willing to admit into their communion all those who seemed worthy of being called Christians, however they might differ with regard to particular points. Their congregations continued to multiply; and, about the close of the century, above sixty places of worship belonged to the association.

Above twenty years after the formation of the Presbytery of Relief, the Berean [w] sect arose in Scot-

[u] In an account of the Old Dissenters, sent to Mr. Adam for insertion in his Religious World.

[w] So called from the Bereans of the apostolic age, who "received the word with all readiness of mind (μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας), and searched the Scriptures daily."

land. Mr. Barclay, who was it's founder, represented a mere *belief* of the Gospel as producing an absolute certainty of salvation. "Faith in Christ," he said, "and an assurance of salvation through his merits, are inseparable, or rather the same." As this faith, he added, is the gift of God alone, so the individual to whom it is imparted is as conscious of possessing it as he is of his existence; and the assurance of it is "established, with the resurrection from the dead, upon the direct testimony of God, believed in the heart." This is, apparently, a confident and presumptuous statement of the nature of faith, and a *personal* application of *general* passages of Scripture. In the opinion of the Bereans, unbelief is the sin against the Holy Ghost, which has been pronounced unpardonable. They admit the most profligate characters into their society, if a belief of the Gospel be declared by the applicants; but these members, if they should afterwards disgrace themselves, are excluded from the Berean pale.

The leaders of these sects propagated their sentiments by the press, as well as in the pulpit; and hence frequent controversies arose. Among the religious disputes which have excited attention in the present reign, that which related to confessions may claim early mention. It was the opinion of many, both divines and laymen, that the freedom of conscience and of sentiment ought not to be so far obstructed, even in an established church, as to render an occasional disagreement in unessential points a ground of exclusion from the emoluments of that church; that, when the bulk of a nation agree in a reformed religion, precise and circumstantial confessions of faith are unnecessary; and that subscription to a variety of articles, not all closely connected or concordant, ought by no means to be enforced. Mr. Francis Blackburne, a respectable divine, maintained these points with ability in a work entitled "the Confessional [x], or a full and free enquiry into the right, utility, edifi-

[x] Which first appeared in 1766.

cation, and success, of establishing systematic Confessions of faith and doctrine in Protestant Churches." Many pens were drawn against this work; and the propriety of subscription was strongly vindicated. The opposer of confessions did not resign the preferments which he had already obtained, but was so far conscientious as to reject the offer of an additional benefice. He had previously entered into a controversy respecting a state of happiness or misery between death and the resurrection, (a supposition which he did not consider as sufficiently countenanced by the Scriptures); and he afterwards took part in the dispute with the catholics, in a manner which did not accord with his usual benignity and liberality of mind. He contended against the grant of toleration to those who were unwilling to allow it to others; but true generosity will prompt a person to do more for others than they will do for him; and it ought to be considered, that the catholics of that time were not so bigoted or intolerant as those of former periods.

By those members of the church who agreed with Mr. Blackburne on the subject of religious confessions, a petition was signed, and presented in 1772 to the house of commons. The Tory members strongly opposed the request of those whom they considered as latitudinarian religionists; and the assembly refused to relax the rigor of compulsory subscription. A similar application being made by the protestant dissenters, the commons agreed to a bill in their favor; which, however, the house of peers rejected. The catholic dissenters, six years afterwards, obtained indulgences for which they had long wished. They were permitted to meet publicly in chapels, keep schools, and hold landed property, on taking the oath of allegiance, and denying that the bishop of Rome had any temporal power or jurisdiction in Great Britain. The presbyterians and other protestant sects then renewed their request for a release from subscription; and the legislature no longer refused compliance.

After a long interval, during which the catholics were distinguished by their peaceable behaviour, they were placed in the same predicament with the orthodox subjects of Great Britain, (except with regard to places and employments,) on disclaiming the intolerant spirit and sanguinary zeal of their church against supposed heretics[y].

The catholics of Ireland were more favored than those of Great Britain; for they were declared eligible to all posts and employments, except some of the highest under the crown, and were allowed to vote for parliamentary candidates. It may seem surprising, that they should be more gratified and indulged, in a country where their great superiority of number might make it hazardous to trust them with power, than in a kingdom where they formed a very small proportion of the community: but it was deemed a point of policy to conciliate the sect. When the union with Ireland took place, strong hopes were entertained, by the catholics, of the grant of every thing which they could desire: but the reigning prince repeatedly declared, that he could not conscientiously agree to their complete emancipation, which, he thought, would be repugnant to the clause in his coronation-oath, binding him to support the church, *as by law established*. Yet, if both houses of parliament should vote a bill for the gratification of the catholics, his assent to it might be vindicated, as those two assemblies, in concert with the sovereign, are allowed to make greater alterations than the mere grant of the remaining demands of a tolerated sect.

The doctrine of the Trinity, in which the church of England and the catholics agree, employed at various times the pens of controversial theologians. Some thought it incomprehensible; others labored to ex-

[y] Those of South Britain in 1791, and those of Scotland in 1793.—In the time between those years, the penal laws against the Scotish episcopalians were abrogated, as the death of the pretender had induced them to acquiesce, with seeming cordiality, in the claims of the house of Hanover.

plain it on rational principles; and some opposed it, as unsupported either by reason or by Scripture. After having sustained occasional and desultory attacks, it was exposed to a systematic assault from Dr. Joseph Priestley, who endeavoured to prove that it was not the opinion of the early Christians, and that it was introduced by artifice and imposture, in repugnance to repeated declarations both of the Old and New Testament [z].

Dr. Priestley was a man of considerable talents, of an ardent and active spirit, who wished at once to shine as a philosopher, a divine, and a politician. He certainly extended our knowlege of air, and of other natural objects: but we are less indebted to him for his endeavours to enlighten mankind in theology or in the art of government. In politics, he was inclined to republicanism; in religion, he entertained various notions which are exploded by more erudite biblical scholars and more profound divines. Unawed by the terrors of the law, which denounced punishment against all who, in sermons or in writings, denied the Trinity, he gave new vigor to the Socinian doctrine, and maintained that Christ was a mere man, divinely commissioned indeed, but not God himself, or the son of God. He even went farther than Socinus, and affirmed that Jesus was only entitled to respect, not to adoration or worship, from the world which he so essentially served. He and his followers, unwilling to be called Socinians, claimed the appellation of *Unitarians*, as they preferred the idea of one God to that doctrine which represented the Deity as consisting of three persons, equal in power and dignity. Mr. Lindsey warmly supported the same opinion;

[z] In an Essay on Spirit, Anti-Trinitarian notions were boldly urged, in 1751, by a clergyman of the Irish establishment; and Dr. Clayton, bishop of Clogher, who had adopted it as his own work, afterwards proposed, to the peers of Ireland, the omission of the Athanasian and Nicene creeds in the service of the church. The zeal of the prelate hastened his death; for, when he had renewed his attack upon the Trinity, he was menaced with a prosecution, the dread of which threw him into a nervous fever.

and he, as well as Dr. Disney, resigned a benefice, from a conscientious preference of the divine Unity to the Trinity. The number of Unitarians, from this time, rapidly increased; and they seemed to think themselves the only rational professors of religion, while the Trinitarians did not regard them as true Christians.

To avoid the terrors of the law, the Unitarians made an appeal to that tolerating spirit which, they hoped, would actuate the majority of the house of commons. They petitioned that assembly for the repeal of all penalties denounced against those who denied the Trinity; and Mr. Fox supported their pretensions with animated eloquence. But their request was not granted, because many of the members considered them as a dangerous set of men, and others thought it unnecessary to abrogate the law in question, as it was suffered by the lenity of the government to lie dormant.

Dr. Priestley and many of his Unitarian brethren maintained another doctrine, which excited strong opposition,—that of *materialism*. They asserted that the soul, though a sentient principle, was the mere result of an organised system of matter [a]; and that, consequently, death would extinguish all conscious-

[a] Early in the century of which we are treating, Dr. Coward had propagated a similar doctrine; and his Grand Essay, as he styled his work upon this subject, was followed by Dodwell's "Epistolary Discourse, proving, from the Scriptures and the first fathers, that the soul is a principle naturally mortal, but immortalised actually by the pleasure of God, to punishment or reward, by it's union with the divine baptismal spirit." Dr. Hartley afterwards discussed the same topic in his Essay on Man (published in 1749), and referred thought, reflexion, judgement, &c. to the laws of animal organisation; thus endeavouring to invalidate the idea of a separate immaterial soul, while he seemed, in some parts of his work, to be inclined to adopt it. La Metherie and Helvetius more decidedly and avowedly maintained the doctrine of Materialism; and l'Homme Machine of the former was publicly burned in Holland. Priestley was chiefly influenced by the reasoning of Hartley, and also by that of Dr. Law, to adopt sentiments which exposed him to the imputation of infidelity and even of atheism.

ness; but that a resurrection was still possible, and even probable[b]. This doctrine led to that of *necessity*, or the *necessary agency* of human beings, which this philosopher strenuously inculcated. It extended to the *mind* what was known to belong to *matter:* it represented the causes of volition and action, in the former, as equally decisive and irresistible with the impellents of the material world[c]. These opinions were combated by various writers, both in and out of the establishment; and the debated points are not yet decided; for the disputes of theologians are endless.

On one of these topics we may observe, that the properties of the soul are so essentially different from those of matter, as to produce a conviction (even if we had no revelation to guide us in our inquiries), that these two parts of our composition are decidedly dissimilar, notwithstanding the connexion of one with the other, and the reciprocal influence of each. If the ideas of the materialists, however, be adopted, the resurrection (it would seem) will not be that which we are taught to expect, namely, that of *identity*, but the excitation of the spark of life in new frames. This is a very gloomy and discouraging doctrine, and one that no good man would be disposed to propagate.

The second opinion is represented by its advocates as the only mode of doing justice to the prescience and omniscience of the Deity. Whatever is done by any one, must, they say, have been fore-known and

[b] Not (said Priestley) from the light or evidence of nature, but from the authority of Scripture, and the example of Christ's resurrection.

[c] Priestley first imbibed his notions of necessity from Collins, who, in 1715, had published a Philosophical Inquiry into Human Liberty. Leibnitz had previously given to the world his Essays on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man, and the Origin of Evil; in which he vindicated God's permission of partial evil, according to the system of necessity, by contending that it would lead to general good; and, avoiding the predestinarian rigor of Calvin, made benevolence the chief attribute of the Deity. So thought our ancestors, when they gave the name of *God* (that is, goodness in the abstract) to the Divine Being. See Dr. Maclaine's note [e e] upon the progress of Arminianism, Cent. xvii. sect. ii. part ii. chap. 3.

pre-determined by the Almighty: yet persons, they add, are not absolutely *compelled* to act as they do, although it be fated that they should so act; for they are still influenced by motives, and have therefore some freedom of choice, being unacquainted with the pre-determination of God respecting what they should do, or forbear to do. For instance, when a man has been guilty of robbery or murder, which his Creator knew that he would commit, these reasoners say, that he had the liberty of avoiding either of those crimes, but that God permitted him to incur this guilt, instead of preventing him by a particular exertion of providence. Some of these Necessitarians even boast, that their system is the only theory consistent with true morality: but, if *definite circumstances* (to use their expressions) produce *definite volitions*, where will be the merit of a good action, or the demerit of a bad one? Their scheme detracts from the goodness, justice, and wisdom of the Deity, by holding him up to view as an encourager of evil, and as a punisher of those who, from fate or necessity, have fallen into wickedness or guilt. Others pretend, that, if the mind had a self-determining power, the world would be a scene of confusion, and the purposes of God might be defeated: for a self-governing mind, therefore, they substitute motives that cannot be effectually controlled or resisted. The supposed derangement of the plans of Providence is an absurd supposition, in the case of an omnipotent Creator; and the idea of irresistible impulse is repugnant to that obvious freedom which enables an individual to act from choice, and frequently to follow the suggestions of wild caprice.

Upon this and other points of metaphysical theology, arguments might be multiplied on both sides by the sophistry of disputation; but it is unnecessary to dwell on a subject in which absolute certainty cannot be attained by our limited faculties. A Thomas Aquinas or a Duns Scotus might spin out a long thread of argument upon such a topic; but, though they

would amuse some, they would weary others, and give little instruction to any.

The Unitarians, in recent times, have found some artful and plausible vindicators of their doctrine; and they have been so elevated by their success in making proselytes, that they seem to expect the ultimate triumph of their creed. They assure themselves, that a great number of Christians who *profess* an adherence to the church of England, really *think* with them, but are deterred by motives of interest from an avowal of their opinions.

The majority of modern Unitarians affirm, that, as far as they can judge from Scripture, from which all Christians profess to deduce their doctrines, Christ had no existence before the time assigned for his human birth [d]; that he was not miraculously conceived; and that he is not God, nor was ever invested with a super-human nature. But they allow, that he was chosen by the Creator of the world to be a medium of communication between him and fallen man, to teach truth and righteousness, and lead sinners to repentance and salvation; and that he obtained the favor of resurrection, as a reward for his obedience to the divine commands, without *atoning* (in the sense of the Trinitarians) for the sins of men by his sufferings and death. They consider the Holy Ghost, not as a distinct person, but as a mere emanation of the Deity; and they are not even willing to allow, that it has any extraordinary influence or operation upon the mind or heart, so as to produce a disposition to piety. They differ from the Methodists in denying the necessity or utility of grace, and in earnestly recommending integrity, good works, and social kindness; and many of them agree with the Universalists, in thinking that the punishment of the most flagitious sinners will only be temporary, and that the whole human race will finally be "gathered unto Christ."

[d] Those Unitarians who are of the Arian class admit the pre-existence of Christ.

Some of the Unitarians entered into a controversy with the followers of Swedenborg, a Swedish baron, with whose ideas of the Trinity they were disgusted. This nobleman published *Arcana Cœlestia* (Heavenly Secrets), Angelic Wisdom, the True Christian Religion, a Treatise upon Heaven and Hell, and many other works. It may excite surprise, that a being, merely human, should pretend to know so much of heaven and hell, or presume to judge so confidently of the precise nature of both those *kingdoms*, as did baron Swedenborg: but our surprise will abate, when we reflect on the force of enthusiasm and the unfettered boldness of a wild imagination. The noble Swede fancied that all secrets respecting futurity had been disclosed to him, and that he was better enabled and qualified to lead an erring world into the way of truth, than any former or contemporary theologian. He affected to be guided by Scripture in his pursuits and researches; but he interpreted its hints according to his own fanciful ideas, and expanded its meaning to a conformity with his own visionary conceptions. He peopled the new Jerusalem at his pleasure, and regulated its polity by the whimsies of his eccentric brain. He framed a religious world with as much ease as the author of Utopia had formed a civil one; certainly with good intentions, but not always with the soundest judgement. Considering himself as commissioned to enlighten his fellow-creatures with the knowlege of every thing that concerned their essential and eternal interests, he published his religious code with the air of a dictator, and, as if he had been a new prophet, pretended to point out the promised land.

The writings of this enthusiastic nobleman did not at first produce the desired effect; but they gradually attracted notice, and at length so far operated as to make many converts. Congregations were formed upon his principles, and ministers were animated with a portion of his zeal. His chief doctrines were of the following complexion. He asserted the divinity of Jesus Christ, in whose person, he thought, resided

the whole Trinity: a point which he endeavoured to explain by comparing it with the human trinity. As every man, he said, consisted of soul, body, and operation, so the Trinity was formed by the Father, or soul, the Son, or divine humanity, and the Holy Ghost, or virtue proceeding from the two former. The redemption, he added, was not the mere fruit of the supposed death of Christ, considered as a sacrifice to the justice or wrath of God, or as an atonement for the sins of men, but consisted in the triumph obtained over Satan and other evil spirits, by the exertions of Jehovah, manifested in the flesh, and appearing in a state of glorified humanity. In substance, perhaps, there is no great difference between this and the ordinary doctrine of the Trinity.

Another doctrine, propagated by the baron, was that of man's co-operation with Christ. An inclination, he said, was requisite on the part of man (as a free agent), to work out his own salvation, as it was unreasonable to suppose that he was to remain in a state of indolence, or to neglect the duties of his station. We therefore ought so to exert ourselves, as if all our future hopes and prospects depended on our own efforts. Yet, as all our powers are the gifts of God, all the merit that we are disposed to claim is not strictly our own, but must be referred to the adorable giver of all grace and virtue: it belongs to Christ, not to man.

The correspondence between spiritual and natural things formed the basis of Swedenborg's doctrine relative to the Scriptures. He affirmed that they were written with an eye to the natural world, so as to explain divine things by a comparison with those which are visible and obvious. Imagining that he had been favored with the means of interpreting this correspondence, he was willing to impart, to the well-disposed, the mode of obtaining this clue to scriptural truth and celestial wisdom [e].

[e] Mr. Adam, after remarking that "some persons will be disposed to doubt the credibility" of baron Swedenborg's doc-

From the Scriptures, and from his own experience, he maintained the connexion between human beings and angels or spirits, by whose influence and aid the former were encouraged to think and act justly, and guided in the most interesting concerns. He did not, however, wish that the idea of this association should preclude a constant attention to holy writ, the grand source of wisdom and illumination.

In giving advice for the conduct of life, he inculcated the propriety of avoiding all sins and vices prohibited by the divine law, and of fulfilling every duty required by the laws of government and society.

trines, " on the ground of the utter improbability, that a mortal man, during his residence in a material body, should have been permitted to enjoy open intercourse with the world of departed spirits, and instructed, during the uninterrupted period of twenty-seven years, in the internal sense of the Scriptures, hitherto undiscovered," ventures to observe, that " others (as appears from many respectable instances) will see nothing *improbable* in all this, referring the case to those extraordinary dispensations of the providence of an All-Wise and All-Powerful Being, who, in all ages of the world, has been pleased to enlighten and instruct *chosen servants* concerning his will and kingdom." The latter opinion seems to be that of Mr. Adam himself: but we cannot wholly concur with him. As nothing is impossible with God, it is not *impossible* that such a communication of his *will* might take place; but that, we think, is the utmost extent to which a rational Christian can proceed in this argument. To see nothing *improbable* in it, argues a degree of superstitious credulity, which we should not have expected to find in a modern clergyman. What reason can we have to suppose that God would impart his will, by a supernatural medium, to a person who had no claim to such peculiarity of distinction, after the lapse of many ages from a similar revelation, and at a time when the most enlightened nations acquiesced in, and seemed satisfied with, the scriptural knowlege that they had already acquired? Is there any thing, in the intimations of Swedenborg, so much more important and material than the former treasure of divine wisdom, as to justify the belief of a new revelation? If we admit his *ipse dixit*, we may also believe the declaration of the Arabian legislator, who affirmed that he had received from heaven, by the angel Gabriel, the substance of the *koran*; or we may give credit to the legends and pretended miracles in the lives of the Romish saints; listen with implicit faith to the reveries of Jacob Behmen, and regard the vaticinations of Joanna Southcott, as the prophetic effusions of unerring wisdom!

He also enjoined repentance as a necessary preparative to justification and acceptance with God.

With regard to the resurrection, he declared it to be his opinion, that, as every one had a spiritual frame, enclosed in a material body, the former, after the death of the individual, would rise again, and dwell for ever with angels, or, in case of incorrigible depravity, with evil spirits.

The variations between these doctrines and those of the church of England, did not induce the baron's disciples and followers in general to desert the communion of that church; nor did all the presbyterians, or other dissenters, who adopted the Swedenborgian tenets, abandon the worship to which they were before attached. The orthodox ministers, however, seemed to consider them as fanatics; and the majority of the dissenters were not pleased with the doctrinal alterations of their respective creeds. Yet the votaries of the New Jerusalem gradually multiplied; and several men of ability entered into the association. Their preachers still have sufficient influence to draw other Christians within their pale, as well as to prevent their former communicants from renouncing the system.

Another sect, also, boasted of the spiritual joys of the New Jerusalem, but exhibited, in a stronger point of view, the leaven of fanaticism. A party of enthusiasts left England for America in 1774, and settled in the province of New York, where the society soon increased, and received the ludicrous denomination of *Shakers*, from the practice of *shaking* and dancing[f]. They affected to consider themselves as forming the only true church, and their preachers as possessing all the apostolic gifts. The wicked, they thought, would only be punished for a time, with an exception of those who should be so incorrigibly depraved as to fall from *their* church: for these

[f] These devotees, in their religious *exercises*, resemble the *Jumpers* of Wales, a set of Methodists, who thus testify their joy for spiritual blessings.

miserable offenders, there would be no forgiveness. Baptism was not practised by these sectaries; nor did they celebrate the eucharist. They did not object to those sacramental ceremonies as improper in themselves, but alleged that they had been abolished in the apostolic times, and that they were particularly unnecessary in the present age, as the *new dispensation* (at least with regard to their society) was beginning to take place. This was an allusion to the Millennium; in which period, they said, Christ would not appear personally, but only by his sainted votaries. Their leader was Anna Leese, who, they ridiculously pretended, was the woman mentioned by St. John as a great wonder [g]. The successors of this *elect lady* have been, they say, as perfect in their characters as she was, have enjoyed unreserved intercourse with departed spirits and with angels, and have possessed the power of imparting a plenitude of spiritual blessings to their disciples [h].

The Shakers chiefly confined themselves to New-England and New-York, scarcely making any proselytes in the other provinces of North-America, from Lake Ontario to the frontiers of Florida. During the subjection of those provinces to the sway of Great-Britain, the religion of the church of England prospered in a very inconsiderable degree among the colonial communities, in comparison with presbyterianism, or with the prevailing system of the inde-

[g] "There appeared a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars." *Revelations*, xii. 1.

[h] "Erskine's Sketches of Church-History.—The *Dunkers* of North-America (so called from their baptising by immersion) formed a sect long before the Shakers, but never became so numerous as these religionists. In the year 1777, their number did not exceed 500. Their principal tenet is, that future happiness can only be secured by penance and mortification. They deny the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, and the eternity of punishment for wickedness; hate war and violence, and protest against the practice of enslaving others. They allow marriage; and yet do not seem to entertain a high opinion of the sanctity of that union, as they compel those who have thus fallen into the snare of temptation to retire to a distant settlement.

pendents: yet it gradually gained ground, as the people became more polished in their manners, and less infected with puritanical austerity. The prelate, to whose authority the Trans-Atlantic episcopalians then submitted, was the bishop of London: but, when the provinces rose to the dignity of an independent state, this spiritual connexion ceased with the political ties which had bound them to the mother-country. As a new director of the headless church was deemed requisite, application was made to some English prelates for the canonical consecration of a bishop, who was to reside in the province of Connecticut. The divine upon whom the Americans fixed, was Dr. Seabury, who had been employed as a missionary by the society for the propagation of the Gospel [i]. The doubts and hesitation of the prelates of England, with regard to the mode of proceeding in this case, on account of the new predicament in which the provincials stood, induced the reverend stranger to apply to those of Scotland; and by them he was gratified, in the year 1784, with the episcopal honor and dignity. The parliament afterwards deliberated upon this affair, and enacted a bill which empowered either the primate or the archbishop of York to consecrate subjects of foreign states to the rank and office of bishop. In consequence of this statute, two clergymen, one from Philadelphia, the other from New-York, were invested by the archbishop of Canterbury and some of his brethren, in 1787, with the episcopal character; and the sanction thus given to the views of the American episcopalians promoted the growth and respectability of their church. A convention of this church had already been holden at Philadelphia [k]; and, in that assembly, some alterations had been made in the liturgy and service of the church of England, and the thirty-nine articles were reduced to twenty. In a subsequent

[i] This society had been enabled, by the subscriptions and legacies of well-disposed Christians, to make considerable progress, not only in converting the American savages, but also in diffusing among the colonists the doctrines of the church of England.

[k] In the year 1785.

convention, several of these alterations were revoked, and all intentions of departing from our church in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship, were disclaimed. From this time the number of Episcopalians continued to increase in the territories of the United States; so that, in the penultimate year of the century, fifty-two congregations of that description were reckoned in Connecticut, twenty-five in New-Jersey, and sixteen in the Massachuset state, beside a considerable number in other parts of the republican territory. Seven bishops then presided over this church, and it boasted of an university and an academy at Philadelphia.

A small party or association, which may be thought worthy of some notice among the varied sects of the age, arose in England from the zeal of Joanna Southcott. This crafty or enthusiastic female offered herself to notice as a prophetess in the year 1792; and she soon met with friends and admirers. She pretended that she was influenced and tutored by the Holy Spirit, and that her unlimited obedience to that divine power had procured for her the signal honor of being commissioned to announce the approaching accomplishment of scriptural promises, the establishment of Christ's kingdom on the ruin of that of Satan, and the redemption of pious believers and penitent sinners from the effects of the fall of man. She intimated that various disasters and calamities would befall the nations, as warnings to a sinful world; but that these awful visitations would have less immediate effect upon other communities than upon the people of this favored island, who enjoyed the benefit of her personal presence. This nation, she said, would have the good fortune to be first redeemed from the bondage of sin and the tyranny of Satan, and would become an instrument in the hands of Providence for awakening the rest of the world to a lively sense of true religion [m]. Such a supposition is an instance of

[m] Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World, by the Rev. John Evans, *the eleventh edition*, p. 221—225.

patriotic enthusiasm, rather than the fruit of just reasoning, or the dictate of a sound mind.

Another pretended prophet was a naval officer of the name of Brothers, who, for giving hints of the king's eventual dethronement, when he (the prophet) should be recognised as prince of the Hebrew nation, was apprehended as a seditious delinquent. Mr. Halhed, a senator of distinguished learning, but apparently not of sound judgement, vindicated the fanatical effusions of Brothers, and gravely advised the national representatives to peruse his writings, that they might have a chance of religious conversion. The officer was afterwards confined as a lunatic, and was thus deprived of an opportunity of forming a sect.

Of those who have faith in supposed prophecies, many (particularly the most sinful) may be more disposed to listen to the deliberate opinions of the Universalists, than to the reveries of Southcott or Brothers. From several passages of Scripture, alluding to the restitution of all things, and the reconciliation of all to the Father by the blood of the cross, the celebrated Origen, and other divines in successive ages, inferred that redemption and salvation would be universal; that, if punishment should be inflicted upon sinners, it would be temporary; and that an eternity of happiness would follow. They entertained the idea of *election,* in a sense which implied that some were chosen, but merely as examples to others, and as the first-fruits of the harvest of salvation. Baxter had softened the rigors of Calvinism by admitting, that every one had a portion of grace, with which he might work out his own salvation; so that, if he should not attain everlasting life, it would be his own fault. He gave name to a sect which so understood his meaning: but we now hear little of the *Baxterians.* The universalists were, more positively and determinately, the advocates of fallen man.

A distinguished modern supporter of the doctrine of universal restoration was Mr. Elhanan Winchester,

a native of North-America, who visited Great-Britain about the year 1787, with a view of disseminating his consolatory tenets [n]. He published a course of lectures which he had delivered with applause, upon the "Prophecies remaining to be fulfilled," and also Dialogues on Universal Restoration.

The Rellyan universalists may here be mentioned. They are the followers of Mr. James Relly, who entered into public life as an associate of Whitefield, but at length renounced his Calvinistic opinions, and preached salvation to all. He believed in "a resurrection to life, and a resurrection to condemnation." Believers only, he thought, would enjoy the former, and dwell with Christ in his kingdom of the *millennium;* but unbelievers, after being raised from death, would be obliged to wait, in darkness and under wrath, the ultimate manifestation of the great Redeemer of the world.

These sectaries were stigmatised as *antinomians* by their adversaries; but, as they recommended morality and good works, they disclaimed the imputation. With regard to antinomianism, we may here observe, that it tends to encourage every species of immorality. It releases its votaries from the ties of moral honor, and the duties of social life. If respectable individuals belong to the sect, they were not rendered so by the tenets which they profess, but by innate goodness of character, which the wild effusions of their ministers have not corrupted. Let piety and devotion be encouraged; but let not morality and rectitude be superseded by the affected purity of religious zeal. Those sectaries who deride good works, are not good

[n] Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, was also a zealous advocate for this doctrine; whence the universalists are sometimes called by his name. It was controverted by the president Edwards and his son; the latter of whom imputed to Chauncy a provisional retention of the scheme of *Destruction*, if the system of the Universalists should not be tenable. The abettors of the scheme alluded to, maintain that the wicked will neither be subjected to endless misery, nor be finally saved, but will be involved in total destruction.

members of society; for they endeavour to loosen its bonds, and to invalidate its regulations. If we were not advocates for unlimited toleration, we should wish that the latitude of antinomianism might be restrained by public authority.

The antinomian system has been refuted by various writers; and, as it has not been (nor can be) defended with equal ability, it rarely makes the least impression upon men of sense. It is still professed, however, in some parts of Great-Britain and of Germany. In 1761, one of its professors maintained, that prayers for the forgiveness of our sins are unnecessary; that repentance is not requisite; that no judgement will take place after this life, and no punishment will be inflicted; that Christ, by subduing the evil spirit, introduced universal righteousness, and thus redeemed all mankind from what would otherwise have been the effect of sin. Many antinomians, on the contrary, are rigid Calvinists, and, by their doctrine of partial, or indeed general, reprobation, endeavour to counteract the last-mentioned opinion.

The different sects, beside their habitual eagerness to disseminate their particular notions among other classes of Christians, were in general well disposed to propagate Christianity among heathen tribes; and, a few years before the century closed, the consideration of the benighted state of pagan ignorance, in which the inhabitants of the numerous islands of the Pacific Ocean were involved, prompted the friends of religion to form an extensive scheme of missionary exertion. Some clergymen of the establishment, and of almost every sect, concurred in the scheme: but it appears to have been devised and chiefly promoted by Calvinistic Methodists. When subscriptions had produced a sufficiency of pecuniary supplies for the commencement of the enterprise, a ship was freighted with every requisite, and sent out under the command of Mr. Wilson, who had as much zeal for the success of the mission, as any of the preachers that embarked with him. Religious colonies were formed

at some of the Society and Friendly Islands: but difficulties and dangers obstructed the progress of conversion, and several of the missionaries perished amidst barbarian commotions. Many other adventurers, however, visited the Pacific with the same views, and new attempts were made to subdue the prejudices of the islanders, and bring them within the pale of Christianity.

While the missionaries of the first embarkation were thus engaged, Mr. Haldane, an opulent North Briton, on the rejection of a proposal which he had made to the government for instituting a mission in the East-Indies, resolved to employ himself and others in a similar plan within the limits of this island. He therefore, in 1797, organised an association, which he called the "Society for propagating the Gospel at home." Itinerant preachers were deputed with this view; tabernacles were built, and seminaries established; and considerable success attended the well-meant undertaking. The members of this society and of the rising congregations were styled *New Independents*. Menaced with the vengeance of the kirk, they still prosecuted their object, and firmly asserted the irreproachable propriety of their conduct, and the commendable nature of their exertions. They reprobated all fixed national creeds and systems, all civil establishments of religion; and professed to regulate all church-government and discipline by the rules of Scripture, not by human ordinances. They declared that the church had no head upon earth; yet they were willing to pay proper submission to the temporal sovereign.

Their efforts in the cause of what they considered as the true or evangelical religion, exposed them to the censures of the kirk; and a pastoral admonition [o]

[o] Dr. Haweis, speaking of the *admonition*, says, "Whoever is at the pains to examine facts, and the assertions in this philippic against the promoters of evangelical religion, will find *as many falsehoods as lines*." It breathes, indeed, a spirit of intolerance; but, in thus inveighing against it, the indignant divine incautiously deviates from that strict veracity which he recommends to others.

was issued against them by the general assembly; but they boldly continued their career, and extended their influence.

The New Independents were not the only persons who endeavoured to promote religious zeal. Some individuals of considerable talents, in England, also pursued that object, but in a different manner, and without recommending a secession from the establishment. The prevalent habit of moral preaching, and the want of religious fervor in persons of rank, and also in the middle class of society, had disgusted and shocked those Christians who were studiously attentive to the concerns of their souls and to the interests of genuine piety. Mr. Wilberforce, who had distinguished himself by his reiterated efforts for the abolition of the slave trade, and had acquired the reputation of an able and independent senator, surprised the public by appearing as a religious writer. He published, in the year 1797, a "Practical View of the prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the higher and middle classes in this country, contrasted with real Christianity." He enumerated the chief defects of the former of these systems, such as the want of adequate conceptions concerning our Redeemer and the Holy Spirit, or of sufficiently-exalted ideas of the strictness of practical Christianity, the neglect of the peculiar doctrines of our religion, and the allowance of only a narrow and qualified jurisdiction to that which ought to embrace every object and influence every pursuit. He animadverted on the error of substituting amiable tempers and useful lives in the place of piety; a "great and desperate error," involving a "fatal distinction between morality and religion." The *particular good* arising from such lives, he said, might be more than counterbalanced by the *general evil,* as they tended to discourage "that principle (namely, religion) which is the great operative spring of usefulness in the bulk of mankind." He therefore earnestly exhorted his countrymen to attend strictly to the

doctrines and precepts of evangelical religion and vital Christianity, to look to Jesus, imitate the example of his blameless life, and surrender, unconditionally, their souls and bodies to the will and service of God. Undoubtedly, he added, the sincere Christian has a great work to perform, and his internal state is a continued scene of discipline and warfare: but pleasures of the purest kind attend his progress; and he is enlivened with the consciousness of well-meant endeavours, encouraged by the succours of divine grace, and animated by the hope of a blissful immortality. He may enjoy the innocent amusements of life, partake of the delights of social intercourse, open his heart to the calls of philanthropy, indulge the sensibilities of taste and genius, and cultivate his mind with the varieties of science.

Much praise is certainly due to the good intentions of this writer; but his zeal is too much tinctured with the gloom of Calvinism, and, while he condemns the lukewarmness and indifference of those whom he calls nominal Christians, he deviates into the unnecessary rigors of the opposite extreme. Similar praise may be bestowed on a celebrated female who has labored in the same cause—we mean Hannah More; and she is also liable to the like censure. In her "Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education, and View of the Principles and Conduct prevalent among Women of Rank and Fortune," she has given much good advice to the fair sex, and has properly censured the frivolity and dissipation of the age, and the relaxed morals of the higher classes; but her religion wears an austere and forbidding aspect. In her novel of Cœlebs, she has prosecuted the same course, and morbid methodism seems to supersede cheerful piety: yet both these works entitle her to the reputation of an ingenious and meritorious writer.

A SKETCH

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

History of the Romish Church.

THE corrupt state in which we left this church at the close of the last century, has not yielded to the influence of that superior light which has since illuminated the civilised world. The Romish bigots have still some remains of an intolerant spirit, and still resist the progress of free inquiry; yet even the catholic governments find it expedient to profess liberal principles, and to endure that boldness of dissent which they dare not punish and cannot effectually prevent.

After the death of the unfortunate pontiff, Pius VI., this church remained for eleven months without a head, while the cardinals, exiled from Rome, were dispersed over different countries. The pious zeal of the emperor of Germany at length prompted him to provide a remedy for this unsettled state of affairs, which seemed to reflect disgrace on those princes who professed a reverential regard for the catholic hierarchy. He desired the fugitive members of the sacred college to hold a conclave at Venice, which was then an Austrian dependency; and the cardinal di Chiaramonte, a native of Cesena, who had been raised by the late pope to the see of Imola, was advanced to the

papal dignity *. This pontiff assumed the designation of Pius VII., and entered with alacrity upon the exercise of his spiritual functions, to which the advantages of temporal power were again annexed, when the Roman territory was recovered by the vigor of the allied arms.

When Napoleon had raised himself to the dignity of first consul or sovereign of France, he applied to the new pope for the purpose of a religious settlement. It was then stipulated that the 'catholic, apostolic, and Romish religion,' should be freely and publicly exercised in France; that a new division of dioceses should take place; that, as soon as the first consul should have nominated bishops, the pope should confer upon them the honor of canonical institution; that the prelates should appoint, for parochial ministers, such persons as the three consuls should approve; that no council or synod should meet without the consent of the government; and that no papal legate or nuncio should act, and no bull or brief be operative in France, unless the ruling power should sanction such interference. Ten archbishops, and fifty bishops, were assigned to the whole republic; and it was required that they should be natives of France, and have attained the age of thirty years. They were not to be very liberally remunerated for the due exercise of their functions, only 15,000 francs being promised to each of the former as an annual stipend, and 10,000 to each of the latter †; and the parochial priests were declared to be entitled only to 1500 or 1000 francs *per annum*.

* On the 14th of March, 1800.—The votes were long divided between the cardinals Bellezoni and Mattei; but the election terminated in favor of the bishop of Imola, even though he was supposed to be more friendly to the French than to the Austrian interest.

That the character of the new pope was not very highly estimated, may be inferred,—yet not decisively,—from the satirical effusion of Pasquin, the unknown director, or perhaps only the follower, of the general opinion at Rome. The anagram of the pontiff's title was thus given: *Roma, china-ti*, that is, 'Rome, humble thyself.' The pun upon the word *Pax*, inserted by the order of Pius above his coat of arms, was still more severe: for the satirist hinted that those letters could only be meant for the initials of *Peggiore Assai X.*—'ten times worse.'

† That is, 625 pounds sterling to an archbishop, and two-thirds of that sum to an inferior prelate.

While Napoleon allowed that the Romish faith should be the established religion of France, he did not mean to preclude himself or his eventual successors from the power of making such alterations as might be deemed expedient, either in doctrine or in discipline; for his great object was to be despotic both in religious and civil affairs, and to dictate the law in every branch of polity.

His power was now at its height; but he was not content without the acquisition of the imperial dignity; and, when he had obtained his wish from a servile and prostrate nation, he aspired to the honor of being anointed and crowned, in the most solemn and religious manner. Full of this idea, he applied to his friend the pope, and requested his speedy attendance at Paris. Sensible of the expediency of compliance, Pius submitted with a good grace to a mandate which he had not the courage to resist, and prepared for a journey to France. Having convoked a secret council of cardinals, he congratulated his venerable brethren on the effect of the *concordat*, which had restored the true worship of God in France, and had seasonably checked the mischievous influence of impiety and profaneness: he applauded the zeal of that powerful prince who had promoted this change, and declared that he felt himself bound both by policy and gratitude to bestow the imperial crown on 'his dearest son in Christ.' When a prince earnestly desired the performance of a sacred ceremony, it was the duty of the head of the church (said the servile pope) to gratify him by impressing a religious character on the ties which bound him to his people; and an act of this kind would be rewarded with the divine benediction. Having given directions for the administration of public affairs (although, in a state which he knew not how to govern, no serious injury could result from his absence), he presented himself at Paris in the autumn of the year 1804, and officiated at the imperial coronation, which, with all its splendor, did not strikingly excite the joy or enthusiasm of the people. He was treated by Napoleon with politeness and respect; but, if he had the honor or the feelings of a man, he could not be altogether pleased with his own conduct. He had given the force of

religious sanction to the usurpation of an unprincipled adventurer, who, like our Cromwell, had acquired sovereignty by military outrage, and retained it by the exercise of the most tyrannic violence.

After his return to Rome, Pius gave a pompous account of the result of his journey. Even his appearance in France, he said, had been visibly beneficial to the cause of religion. An innumerable crowd followed him in every part of his progress, and his readiness to grant apostolical benediction gladdened the people, and invigorated their pious zeal. He reclaimed to their duty some bishops who had refused to submit to the *concordat*, and procured decrees for the augmentation of the revenues of the prelates, for the regular establishment of funds sufficient to defray the expenses of public worship, for the erection of theological seminaries, and for the revival of many religious societies, particularly the Priests of the Mission and the Daughters of Charity. He also obtained an edict, allowing to the bishops the full liberty of judging with regard to spiritual offences, and of punishing violations of the canonical laws. In return for these concessions (which, in all probability, were not carried into full effect), he conferred on the archbishops of Paris and Rouen the highest dignity that he could grant, by presenting the cardinal's hat to each of those prelates.

The French had left to the pope scarcely any other pretence for interfering in their concerns, than that of granting canonical institution to those prelates whom their emperor might think proper to nominate: but with this shadow of honor his holiness was not so elate as to be particularly anxious for the performance of that ceremony. The applications made to him for that purpose were coolly disregarded; so that, in 1811, twenty-seven bishops waited for his confirmation of the imperial choice. Resenting his refusal, Napoleon declared that the *concordat* was at an end, and called a council of prelates to act in this case for the refractory pontiff. He hinted that the pope, if he would not conduct himself like a Frenchman, could not expect to retain any authority or influence in the great empire. This is not an unreasonable doctrine; for

every state ought to have a peculiar director of its religious concerns, rather than have recourse on any occasion to a foreign priest.

Napoleon always pretended to be a friend to religion; and, in his own opinion, he did not forfeit that character, when (in the year 1809) he divested the pope of his temporal power: but, however justly he might argue in this case, he acted solely from motives of ambition. It suited his policy to adopt a line of argument which philosophers had used, by representing the possession of political power as inconsistent with the essence of religion, and injurious to the purity and sanctity of spiritual government. But the despot went still farther, and, by imprisoning the pontiff at Avignon, disunited him from the sacred college, prevented him from presiding in a grand ecclesiastical council, and impaired his authority and influence as a director of the conscience and a teacher of piety. Pius did not tamely bear the insults and injuries to which he was subjected. He protested, in a public declaration, against the outrageous violence and sacrilegious wickedness of Napoleon, and even ventured to excommunicate the daring oppressor; but it must be observed, that he evinced his moderation even in this act of apparent revenge; for he disclaimed all intention of exciting a revolt or an insurrection, declaring that the act was merely a spiritual censure, inflicted with a view of bringing the delinquent to a due sense of his error and a consequent reparation of his injustice. He indeed denied and condemned the assertion of some former pontiffs, that sovereigns might lawfully be deposed by the spiritual father of Christendom. If a national council had at any time voted the deposition of a prince, the pope (he said) might as justly confirm the sentence, if it suited his own ideas of policy or rectitude, as he might crown a legitimate prince, or consecrate a foreign prelate who had received his appointment from the ruling power in the state to which he belonged. This acknowlegement was a concession to the reforming spirit of modern times, and a proof of the decline of pontifical arrogance.

The idle thunder of excommunication only provoked the tyrant's derision, and the mode in which it was softened

excited ridicule, while this treatment of the pontiff was considered by many catholics as a judgement upon him for having favored and indulged an enemy of the church in the *concordat* and at the coronation.

Still affecting a high regard for religion and its ministers, the ruler of France concluded a new agreement with the pope, whom he unexpectedly gratified with the privilege of nomination to ten bishoprics, either in France or in Italy, allowing him also to exercise the pontificate in France, and in the kingdom which had been formed in the north of Italy, in the same manner in which his predecessors had acted: but the master of Rome was not yet so humbled by a reverse of fortune, as to be disposed to reinstate the pontiff in his temporal authority.

The ruin of Napoleon was at length the consequence of his wanton ambition. After his mad expedition to Russia, he was unable to withstand that powerful confederacy which, with the most determined zeal, was organised against him. Holland and the German states shook off his yoke,—and Rome reverted to its temporal and spiritual lord.

Adversity has been styled a teacher of wisdom; but the maxim was not verified by the conduct of the restored pontiff, who soon manifested his bigotry and imprudence, instead of displaying the enlightened policy of a wise prince. Not content with the resumption of ecclesiastical property, and the abolition of Napoleon's code in the Roman state, he re-ordained the observance of all the festivals, re-established the monastic orders, revived in some degree the inquisition, and reinstated the obnoxious society of the Jesuits. As an excuse for the last measure, he declared that the catholic world demanded, with an unanimous voice, the revival which he had ordered[1]. He therefore readily granted to Taddeo Barzozowski, 'general of the company of Jesus,' and his associates, all suitable and necessary powers for the admission of all who might be disposed to follow the rules prescribed by St. Ignatius of Loyola,—for the education of youth in the principles of

[1] We ought not to dispute the pope's veracity: but, as we know that the influence of the chief catholic powers constrained Ganganelli to *dissolve* the institution, we doubt whether the call for its re-establishment was either strong or unanimous.

the catholic faith and in good morals,—for hearing confessions, preaching the word of God, and administering the sacraments of the church. As this edict required funds for its execution, such property as had not been irrevocably transferred from the former association was assigned to the new fraternity, compensations were allowed for that which had been alienated, and subscriptions were requested from the opulent and the liberal.

Even if this impolitic conduct in religious affairs had been accompanied with the display of wisdom and justice in the civil and ordinary administration, it would not have been sufficiently redeemed from censure or complaint; but, when joined with general misgovernment, it tended only to convince the public of the pope's unfitness to be the ruler of a nation. Pius, however, proceeded in his course with little alteration and few concessions, considering himself as the worthy successor of St. Peter, and as a proper object of general regard and esteem [s].

After the deposition and banishment of Napoleon, the

[s] While we adopt the general impression which prevailed with regard to the political conduct and administration of this pontiff, we are bound to annex a different statement, given by a writer who boldly maintains the accuracy of his information.—"Pius (says M. Vieusseux) effected many useful improvements in the country over which he ruled. His impoverished finances, the inveterate habits of the people, the old forms and routine of church-government, his own scrupulous and gentle nature, and the prejudices of some of his advisers, prevented him from doing more. He enacted a law, however, compelling the proprietors of the large estates in the Campagna di Roma, to cultivate all their lands, or give up, for a reasonable compensation, those which they could not bring into culture; he allowed rewards for the plantation of trees; he completed the *cadastro* of the Roman provinces, begun before his time, and fixed upon its basis the rate of a moderate land-tax, in lieu of the arbitrary contributions previously exacted; he abolished the unjust exemptions of the upper classes from proportional taxation; he enforced a rigid œconomy in the expenditure of his household, and in the charges of the public departments; he established manufactures of wool and cotton in the houses appropriated to the reception of the poor; he instituted an office for the registration of mortgages, and the security of loans; he withdrew from circulation the base and enormously-depreciated coin which had been issued in disordered times, and replaced it by standard money, at a great loss to his treasury; and he issued an edict, announcing a plan of legal and judicial reform, which, however, was imperfectly followed."

pope entertained the hope of some accession to his authority, as it was not to be supposed that Louis XVIII. would retain, unaltered, the ecclesiastical settlement which the usurper had framed; but, when a new compact was adjusted with France, in the year 1817, it was more calculated to augment and dignify the establishment, than to increase the influence of the supposed head of the church. Thirty-two new sees were ordered to be erected; but his holiness was to have no more concern with them than to grant canonical institution to such individuals as might be nominated by the king; and it was foreseen or understood that, if he should refuse to confirm the royal appointment, his majesty would not revoke it; for Louis, however pious and devout, was determined to support the independence of his kingdom against the high claims even of the spiritual father of Christendom.

The general state of religion in France, for a considerable time after the expulsion of Napoleon, was so inconsistent with true piety, that the respectable part of the priesthood seemed to apprehend its speedy extinction. Alarmed at this prospect, many churchmen, in different parts of the kingdom, undertook missions with a view of reclaiming the people. As a specimen of the mode in which these missions were conducted, we may observe, that, in the year 1819, nine ecclesiastics paraded the chief streets of Avignon, singing penitential psalms, and two of them, halting on a hill, preached to two divisions of the assembled multitude. On the following day, they visited the churches, and harangued overflowing congregations; and, for a week, their time was almost wholly employed in giving public or private instructions to the citizens, and in visiting the hospitals and prisons for the same purpose; and the second week was principally devoted to the consolation of those who came to confess their sins, and who, seeming to be penitent, received absolution and pardon. The baptismal vows were publicly renewed with pompous solemnity, and, in every church, while the Gospel was holden up to general view, all were required to swear that they would faithfully observe the precepts contained in that divine book. After the administration of all the

sacraments of the church, a great cross was borne in magnificent procession, and erected on a terrace in holy triumph; and the mission was closed with appropriate and interesting discourses.

As these missions had only a partial effect, the state of the church was represented as deplorable, in a letter which the bishops addressed to the pope. The ecclesiastical discipline, they said, was relaxed; many dioceses were so neglected by their lawful rulers, or so ill-governed, that the faithful wandered like sheep without shepherds; the enemies of the church took advantage of this weakness, to inflict severe wounds on the declining hierarchy; and the pious divines who endeavoured, by acting as itinerant preachers, to revive that religious spirit which had nearly become extinct, were treated with contempt or with insult. It was therefore highly expedient that some measures should be speedily taken to restore the dignity and influence of the church. Repeated deliberations on this subject in the French cabinet led to a royal ordinance for the erection of chapels of ease wherever they seemed to be requisite, for the immediate grant of pecuniary aid to the impoverished church, and for the general protection of that establishment. 'It was the duty of every state (said the leading minister on this occasion) to foster or to renew a religious spirit. To support religion was to support the unfortunate whom it consoles, to cherish that morality which it elevates, and that virtue which it creates and maintains.'

While these measures were operating to the relief of the established church, tranquillity was restored to the south of France. At Nismes and other towns, the protestants had for several years been most illiberally molested by the catholics, and in a great measure deprived of that toleration to which they were by law entitled. Some of them had been murdered on their way to the meetings of the electoral colleges, and, in defending their cause, two military officers of high rank had lost their lives. It was pretended that the court connived at these outrages, because the sufferers were more attached to Napoleon than to the house of Bourbon; but this was an unfounded alle-

gation; for the king, though he did not in every point adhere to the charter which he had granted, was not disposed to violate its provisions in the case of the protestants. The ultra-royalists (as the friends of the old *régime* were styled) would probably have continued these persecutions to the present day, if Louis had not covered the descendants of the Huguenots with the broad mantle of toleration.

The pope, from the time of his restoration to the day of his death, was chiefly influenced by the counsels of cardinal Gonsalvi, who was a better governor both of the church and state than his master. Thus the pontiff became more popular in the decline of his life than he had been in the vigor of his age; and his death, which happened in the eighty-fourth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign[t], was not unlamented either by the clergy or the people.

The intrigues for the election of a new pope were conducted, on the part of the Italian cardinals, with great art and dexterity. They resolved neither to be ruled by the French nor by the Austrian faction, and were intent upon the choice of a zealot, who would be disposed to assert and maintain the high prerogatives of the church. Cardinal Severoli, though not so violent in his disposition as some of the bigots wished, was one whose professed principles were agreeable to the party; and therefore, on one of the days of meeting, he had twenty-six votes. He might have had as many more as would have served his purpose, if the Austrian party had not, in the emperor's name, *excluded* him from the chance of appointment; for there are four potentates who are allowed to exercise that right. When the exclusion was announced to him, he seemed to bear it with fortitude; and he desired that the act might be registered to prevent the privilege from being exercised twice in the same conclave, as in that case one of his intimate friends might be rendered ineligible. The disappointment preyed on his spirits, and is said to have hastened his death.

[t] On the 20th of August, 1823.

On the morning after this rejection, the friends of Severoli requested him to name a fit candidate for the papal throne. He replied, that, if he had sufficient influence over the election, either the cardinal Annibale della Genga, or Gregorio (an illegitimate son of Charles III. of Spain), would be the next pontiff. The former was the determined enemy of Gonsalvi, and his election, which quickly followed the recommendation, demonstrated the prevalence of the bigoted party. He assumed the denomination of Leo XII., because one of his ancestors had received some feudal property from the tenth pope of that name.

Gonsalvi was now dismissed from power, and the chief adviser of the new pope was the cardinal della Somiglia, who, like his sovereign, had been a libertine in his youth and in his middle age. From the high-church principles and arbitrary policy of such men, no just government, no attention to the rights of the people, could be expected; and their subsequent conduct appears to have proved, that those who foreboded ill from their combination with the Jesuits, did not judge too harshly. Indeed, priests in general are not the best administrators of temporal power, and, when we say that they ought to be restricted to their spiritual duties, we mean no disrespect to their sacred order.

With all his bigotry, and all his zeal against reform, the present pontiff has treated the protestants in his dominions with a degree of mildness and complacency not expected from his rigid principles. He even allows a chapel at Rome for the exercise of their religion, being probably influenced by a regard for the British and other protestant governments, even while he thinks that the professors of this faith do not pursue that course which would give them a full assurance of salvation. He finds it expedient to make some concessions to the more enlightened spirit of the age, while his own mind is darkened by inveterate prejudices. He would wish to dictate, as his predecessors did, to all the princes of Christendom; but, as he cannot influence them to the extent of his wishes, he is content to exhort without commanding. The prince whom he finds most devoted to him, is the French king (Charles X.),

who, in his late law against sacrilege, has imitated the pontifical rigor of the middle ages; but it does not appear that even this monarch is inclined to surrender, to the claims of the papacy, any of the prerogatives of the Gallican church.

The reigning pope has had the high honor of celebrating a Jubilee. It commenced on Christmas eve, in 1824, and a whole year from that time is considered as peculiarly sacred. The beginning of the ceremonial was a solemn procession to the sacred gate which leads to St. Peter's church. The magistrates of Rome, the chief citizens, the cross-bearers and other ecclesiastical attendants, the parochial clergy, the bishops and cardinals, and (last in order, though first in dignity) the holy father, with his *tiara* carried before him, advanced to the gate. As it did not open at the first blow which he gave to the wall with a silver hammer, he tried a second, saying, with an air of authority, 'I will enter thy house, O Lord.' An opening not being yet made, he struck the wall a third time, and, with the aid of workmen on the other side, a passage was opened for the anxious throng. Fragments of stone, thrown out in this operation, were eagerly picked up by the votaries of superstition, and the medals which had been left within the wall at the jubilee of the year 1800, were also seised by the scrambling devotees. The church was soon filled to an overflow: the pope set the example of singing and praying, and the thanksgiving service was performed amidst the united sounds of choral and martial music, enlivened by peals of bell-ringing. Similar scenes occurred at three other churches; and all the subjects of the state, as well as pilgrims who flocked from various countries, now hoped for a remission of their sins, a favor which may be purchased at the altars on moderate terms. Poor strangers, it appears, obtain this indulgence *gratis*; and the pope sometimes condescends to grant it to them in person. He presides at the celebration of the most sacred service in the metropolitan church, and afterwards entertains the pilgrims at the Vatican palace with humble fare and spiritual conversation, and distributes silver medals among them, commemorative of the jubilee.

But the usual place of resort, for these strangers, is the hospital of the *Pelegrini*, where they are treated with great respect, and even have their feet washed by some of the cardinals. In the course of the year which is thus dignified with peculiar sanctity, public amusements and diversions are prohibited: yet the idea of a jubilee ought not, we think, to 'impoverish the public stock of harmless pleasure.' Where a general fast is ordered, there may be some reason for a suspension of ordinary amusements; but, in the case of a joyful celebrity, the interdiction seems to be misplaced and inapplicable.

From the religious concerns of France and of Italy, we proceed to the survey of other catholic governments. In Spain, the pope's authority was not suffered to be free from control, as will appear from the following restrictions upon his representative. In 1803, the council of Castile, in admitting the archbishop of Nicea to the office of papal legate in the Spanish dominions, stated three remarkable exceptions to the authority claimed by that officer. One was, that he was not to have the power of visiting the patriarchal, metropolitan, or other churches, with a view to correction or reform; another was, that he was not to examine any individual, whether of a religious or civil character, who might be estranged from a particular community or institution, or in any way criminal; and the third imported, that he would not be allowed to receive appeals from the ordinary judges.

The pontifical authority was still more restricted after the usurpation of the Spanish throne by Napoleon's brother Joseph, who, while he declared that only the Romish religion should be allowed, left to his holiness a mere shadow of power, suppressed a considerable number of monasteries, and abolished the court of inquisition. But, as the continued efficacy of his regulations depended on the permanence of his power (for they were not attended with the general assent of the nation), it remained for the cortes to determine whether his ordinances should be exploded or confirmed. They decreed, in the year 1813, that the inquisition was injurious to religion and to the state; but to gratify the bigots, they voted the erection of episcopal the

courts for the trial of heretics. They made various attempts for the reformation of abuses and the redress of grievances; but, amidst the prevalence of war and civil dissensions, they could not make great or effective progress in their schemes; and their acts were annulled by the tyranny of that prince whose throne they endeavoured to establish. Being released by Napoleon in 1814, Ferdinand re-entered Spain with those emotions of resentment which prompted him to reject the new constitution; and, by listening to the suggestions of priests, excited discontent and odium. He was even so attached to the old school of bigotry, that he concurred with the pope in the propriety of re-establishing the order of Jesuits, and commanded that all the colleges, houses, funds, and rents, which belonged to this fraternity at the time of the suppression, and had not been altogether alienated, should be quickly restored. Yet, in his other concerns with the court of Rome, he displayed a laudable spirit; for, when the papal nuncio required that the ancient oath of fidelity to the king and regard for his prerogative, exacted from every prelate on his consecration, should no longer be administered, he answered the unwarrantable demand by declaring, that no innovation should be made in that respect. This prince, indeed, though deficient in sense and judgement, is sufficiently disposed to defend his prerogative against papal encroachments and attacks. The king of Portugal is equally attached with Ferdinand to the Romish faith, and, at the same time, equally ready to resist the high claims of the pontiff.

All the Austrian prelates, except the archbishop of Olmutz, are nominated or appointed by the emperor; and, although the papal confirmation is afterwards accepted, it is not considered as absolutely necessary. As king of Hungary, the same prince appoints the prelates of the Latin and Greek churches; and those who are named immediately exercise their full jurisdiction before they receive the pope's confirmation of their appointments; for it is a settled point in these countries, that bishops hold their power directly from God. When the episcopal oath is taken, it is understood to imply only a canonical obe-

dience to the pope, not derogating in the smallest degree from the rights of the emperor, or encroaching on the duties which the prelates, as subjects of the state, are expected to perform to the ruling power. This practice certainly tends to explode the idea of a double allegiance on the part of the Austrian subjects, whose sovereign, while he is an hereditary bigot to the Romish faith, is determined to secure his own authority from the encroachments of a foreign pontiff. By the *Placitum Regium*, no papal edicts or rescripts are allowed to have any force or operation without the express consent of the government; and no persons are even suffered to apply to his holiness with regard to any new act of devotion, or for any other purpose, without the emperor's permission.

The catholic zeal of the Bavarian government has in this century declined. Bigotry has in a great measure yielded to a sense of liberality, and the protestants are not only tolerated but encouraged. A new constitution, allowing a national assembly, has been conceded to the people, and a meliorated system, both in the church and state, consequently prevails.

In the catholic cantons of Switzerland, there is not an uniformity of religious regulation. The rulers of Fribourg, in 1815, renounced the right of appointing their bishop, leaving it to the uninfluenced judgement of the pope. In the Grison territory (now a part of the Swiss republic), the bishop of Coire is elected by the twenty-four canons of the establishment; but it appears that the pope is allowed to fill up the vacancies among these canons, alternately with the chapter itself. The same bishop promulgates the papal ordinances, without waiting for the sanction of the temporal power. In the new canton of Tessin, the bishop of Como is appointed by the government; but the papal confirmation is deemed requisite for the establishment of his pretensions. In the Valais, four priests are proposed by the chapter to the diet for the episcopal dignity: of these, one is selected as the most unobjectionable candidate; the pontiff at first pretends to reject him, but soon after nominates the same person, as if no previous recommendation had been given. In those states which, before the

year 1815, composed a part of the diocese of Constance, the prelates are chosen by the government; and his holiness is expected to confirm the appointment. Thus, on the prelate's death, in 1818, a new bishop was nominated by the grand duke of Baden, and, though the pope objected, he was obliged to yield to the spirit of that prince. In most of the cantons, no papal or episcopal ordinances, except those which relate to an exemption from fasts, or other affairs of little moment, are suffered to operate without the consent of the civil power. With regard to the monasteries, it appears, that the election of the head depends, in some, upon the pope, and, in the rest, upon the bishops.

In the kingdom of Naples, the pope's authority is seriously checked by the spirit of the government, although the doctrines which he maintains are still professed by the people. No bulls, rescripts, or dispensations, are effective without the royal assent; and, in the appointment of bishops, the court justly assumes a paramount authority.

In speaking of Naples, our attention is called to a remarkable society, which was formed in the year 1812, while Murat (that is, the usurper Joachim) filled the throne of Ferdinand. We are induced to mention it, not for its chief object, which was evidently political, but because its members mingled a sense of religion with their general views, and professed a high regard for evangelical truth, declaring that their grand aim was to establish on that basis a system of freedom and justice. Our Redeemer, they said, was the victim of despotic tyranny; and it was therefore the duty of his votaries to use all their efforts for its extinction. The founders of this association were the friends of the exiled family; but many persons of different political principles were encouraged to join them; and, borrowing the symbol of their confederacy from the charcoal trade, they did not disdain the degrading appellation of *Carbonari*. The existence of such a society did not escape the vigilance of Murat, who took measures for the repression of its audacity; and, being thus endangered, it was reduced to a comparatively small number; for the leaders dismissed a very considerable part of their

force, and carried on their intrigues with greater caution and secrecy. After the death of Joachim, Ferdinand, the restored king, or rather his minister the prince of Canosa, instituted a new association as a counterpoise to the Carbonari; but this did not prevent the great increase of the latter, who now propagated their principles of reform over many parts of Europe. At length, in the year 1820, their intrigues produced a revolution in the Neapolitan kingdom; but it was easily suppressed by the operations of an Austrian army, and many of these mal-contents were punished in various modes. The society then desisted from its machinations, and declined into insignificance.

In Sicily, so feeble is the papal power, that it is treated with a freedom bordering on contempt; and the intercourse still maintained with the court of Rome is confined to the formality of procuring either patents for bishoprics, to be granted to those who are nominated by the king, or dispensations for spiritual wants, when the individuals who apply for them have received the royal permission. If these applications should be disregarded, the king, being (by an ancient grant) a legate of the holy see by birth, would, in all probability, order the prelate who acts for him in that capacity, and who presides in the spiritual courts, to accede to the different requests in the pope's name, like the English parliamentarians, who, when they opposed Charles I. in the field, pretended to act in his name.

In the grand duchy of Tuscany, after the laudable efforts of Leopold in opposition to papal encroachments, little remained to be done in the present century to establish the independence of the temporal sovereign. It appears, indeed, that the pope ostensibly supplies the vacancies in episcopal preferments; but the rule is, that the names and pretensions of four candidates are communicated to him by the Tuscan minister at Rome, who points out the one more particularly favored by the grand duke; and with this recommendation his holiness feels himself obliged to comply. The ordinary benefices are conferred on such persons as are deemed by the king or the bishops the most deserving; and the pope's confirma-

tion of any appointment of this kind is considered as absolutely unnecessary. The injunctions of the pontiff are allowed to have some influence in cases of conscience or of private penance; but, if the answers to these cases should affect in any way the civil state of the persons who have solicited the illuminations of his wisdom, the acceptance is noticed and sometimes punished as a misdemeanor.

Even the hereditary bigotry of the king of Sardinia does not render him a slave to the pope. He bestows the highest ecclesiastical preferments at his own discretion, and rejects such orders from Rome as relate to the external polity of the church. He indeed suffers appeals to be made from bishops or their judicial deputies to the pontiff, in those few causes which are still subject to the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical tribunal; but these appeals are not actually transferred to Rome, unless each subject should have been thrice investigated, without an uniformity of decision, by pontifical delegates, chosen from the whole number of churchmen resident within the kingdom.

CHAPTER II.

History of the Greek Church, and of the Christian Communities in Asia and Africa.

WHEN the Roman empire was divided into two great states, it could not be expected, either that a community of interest, or an entire coincidence of religion, would long prevail. As adult persons, who have left their homes and formed new families, do not conceive themselves bound to adhere invariably to the opinions or the practices of their parents, nations, when disjoined by mutual consent, gradually adopt new sentiments, both in religion and in politics: we cannot, therefore, be surprised on finding that the Greeks soon began to differ from their former friends and fellow-subjects. The occasional religious differences between them have been

stated by our predecessor; they were not essentially important, but sufficient in the eyes of irritable theologians to justify a secession. The schism still subsists to such an extent, that there are many Greeks, particularly in the Morea, who are more unwilling to be upon friendly terms with the members of the Latin church, than even with Moslems or pagans. These haters of their Christian brethren, we may conclude, are men of weak minds and illiberal dispositions; and the majority of the Hellenic race, we hope, are not so bigoted and intolerant, though they certainly do not harmonise with the Romanists. A respectable votary of the Greek church, we are informed, made a formal application to the pope in the year 1825, requesting his authoritative aid and support in the present contest, and holding out the prospect of a religious union: but it does not appear that he was authorised on this occasion by the leaders of the insurgent confederacy, or that they are disposed to sacrifice any point of doctrine or even of ceremonial practice for the insignificant assistance which they can derive from the feeble remains of power and influence, yet enjoyed by the head of the Romish church.

The contest to which we incidentally referred, did not arise from any new provocation, but from continued reflexion upon the enormity of existing abuses. The Greeks, habituated to the most disgraceful slavery, seemed to submit with patience to the sway of the most brutal barbarians that ever obstructed the progress of humanity and civilisation: but, when the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Neapolitans, had roused themselves from that torpor which was apparently inconsistent with the warmth of their dispositions, the descendants of an illustrious nation resolved to exert their energy for the recovery of their independence. They boldly took up arms in the year 1821, and soon formed a new government, which, unaided by the jealous and selfish powers of the continent, they are still defending against their savage oppressors. Without speculating on the probable event of the contest, we shall merely observe that they are entitled to encouragement and support from all the advocates of

freedom, and all the professors of Christianity. But, say the abettors of arbitrary power, rebels ought rather to be punished than assisted. As a general rule, we admit that position; but we may venture to affirm, that an exception ought to be allowed in the case of the Greeks, the injured slaves of a government which is in itself an *anomaly* and an *outrage*.

The ministers of the church, in general, were among the promoters of the revolt, and many of them are even engaged in the military service, in which some have displayed great alertness and courage. The priests also, in numerous instances, take part with the rest of the community in agricultural labors, and in the mechanic arts, and thus eke out their scanty incomes in a mode which detracts from the respect that would otherwise be paid to them.

The doctrines and ceremonies of this church do not appear to have been altered since the beginning of the century. The priests have continued their old course; the people have not called for any innovation; and, since the insurrection unfolded the banners of liberty, religion has been treated as a secondary concern.

Adverting to the state of the Greek church in one point of ceremonial observance, which also exhibits traits of national manners, we are induced to take notice of the celebration of Easter. This festival, being deemed the most important of all, is observed with great joy and respect. The termination of *fasting* necessarily leads to the idea of *feasting*; but devotional exercises and pompous ceremonies in the churches precede the general indulgence and merriment. All the inhabitants of the towns and villages, in holiday trim, or in their best apparel, sally forth to pay visits and to receive congratulations; and they salute each other on the cheek, saying at the same moment, "Christ has risen." Beside private rejoicings, firings from the batteries and discharges of small arms announce the prevailing joy; and, not content with putting powder into their musquets or pistols, they introduce bullets, not, we hope, with a malicious intent, but from the wantonness of joy. In the evening a grand ceremony

takes place in the chief towns: all men who sustain public characters, after attending divine service in the principal church, meet in the street, and the members of the executive body, approaching the legislative subjects of the state, who are drawn up in a line, embrace them with an air of affection. On Easter-Monday, the festivities are renewed. In the environs of the towns, while many of the women, dressed in a tasteful manner, are reclining on the grass, listening to the attractive sounds of the guitar and the flute, equestrian bands are scouring the plain, and hurling their javelins; other parties are engaged in the Romaic dance, while discharges of pistols add to the effect of the music; children, fancifully arrayed and crowned with flowers, sport around their delighted relatives and friends; and apparent joy and hilarity animate the scene. Yet there is no great degree of true piety or sincere devotion in this celebration of Easter;—not more, indeed, than we observe in the Christmas festivities of England, where few think of the religious origin of the general joy.

As the Russian ecclesiastical establishment scarcely differs in any respect from the mother-church, there is no occasion for the formality of descriptive remark. Ceremonies are more regarded both by the clergy and the laity than the dictates of sound morality. Prostrations before the pictures or figures of saints,—

——— "Who never yet had being,
Or, being, ne'er were saints;"

pilgrimages over immense deserts to favorite chapels and shrines, and other marks of superstition, are the general substitutes for true piety. The majority of the priests are men of low birth and imperfect education, and many of them attend more to the length of their beards than to the propriety of setting a good example to their flocks.

The late emperor Alexander, while he followed the rules of the established church, tolerated all sects in the exercise of their respective modes of worship, but did not suffer them to make proselytes. It was on this ground that he banished the Jesuits from his dominions: if they

had been content with teaching the elements of literature, he would have left them unmolested; but they endeavoured to seduce the youth into the pale of the Romish church. The same prince treated the Jews, and the Moslem and pagan tribes of his Asiatic empire, with mildness and forbearance, promoting without enforcing their conversion. When he completed the reduction of Georgia under his yoke, he found the people already Christians; and, allured by his beneficent sway, they seemed more observant, than they had before been, of the ordinances of the Greek church. Over Armenia and Kurdistan he had some influence, because those countries seemed not to have any regular government; but he did not ostensibly direct either their religion or politics.

Directing our course to the neighbouring territory of Chaldæa, we meet with a numerous body of Christians. They inhabit the country on each side of the Tigris, and are said to amount to 500,000 persons. They form an unconquered state, and are so determined to resist all attempts for their subjugation, that they constantly bear weapons of defence, which they do not lay aside even when they assemble for public worship. Their ostensible ruler is a patriarch, who exercises both a spiritual and civil jurisdiction; but he is not invested with that arbitrary power which is so prevalent in Asia; for the government is, in effect, rather republican than monarchical. The most intelligent men in Chaldæa do not pretend to know either at what time, or by whom, Christianity was first preached in that country; but it is probable that Gregory, styled the Enlightener, whom the Armenians consider as the founder of their church, introduced the Gospel likewise among the ancestors of those tribes of which we are now speaking. Yet, as the majority of their number follow the opinions of Nestorius, they differ from the Armenians, who are Monophysites. They appear to be divided into two hostile parties,—namely, the Nestorians, who compose an independent church, and the converts to the Romish persuasion. Literature, at present, is at a very low ebb among them; and we need not

wonder at this circumstance, when their neighbours, in every direction, are equally unenlightened or still more ignorant [a].

In Persia are found the remains of sects that have Christianity for the basis of their religion; but the superstructure is a miscellaneous kind of erection, not fully suited to the foundation. The Sabeans, near the Persian Gulf, have tenets and practices borrowed from the Jewish and Mohammedan systems; but, as they believe in the divinity of Christ and the redemption and atonement, they are justly considered as Christians. The Sefis resemble our Quakers in their regard to moral duties, and their endeavours to subdue the violence of the passions.

In India the Christians are widely diffused, not only in consequence of the invigorated exertions of modern missionaries, but from the remains of ancient conversions. Some have thought that the Saads are Christians in their hearts, though not in their external professions: but it appears that they are still heathens. About 155 years ago, one Jogee Das declared, at Dahli and other places, that he had been commissioned by the divine pupil of the Supreme Being to deliver the people from the clouds of error, in which they had been long enveloped; and he soon found many who were willing to secede from the Hindoo idolatry, and to assist him in the propagation of his doctrines. These sectaries resemble the Quakers in the plainness of their dress and the simplicity of their manners, in their avoidance of frivolous amusements, in that opinion of the profaneness of an oath which does not exclude a strict regard to honor and truth, and in their detestation of war and violence. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and expect a day of final judgement. Many of those who have intercourse with our missionaries seem inclined to become Christians; but, even among these well-disposed men, conversions are yet uncommon.

In the territory of Canara we still find a large Chris-

[a] An account of the Chaldæan Christians, by the Rev. Dr. Robert Walsh.

tian community, sufficiently remarkable to claim our notice. It was from the settlement of Goa that the rays of evangelical light diffused their lustre over Canara; but at what time a Christian colony was first formed in this part of Southern India, cannot be ascertained. The influence of the Portuguese government not only conduced to the protection of the settlers, but procured for them the favor of princely patronage, so that they obtained, from the rajahs of the country, grants of land and various privileges. They received occasional accessions of European devotees and of native converts from Goa, and, by their forcible persuasions, drew many of the inhabitants from the darkness of idolatry; and the establishment became so flourishing, that about 80,000 persons are said to have belonged to it at the time when Hyder Ali, the bold usurper of the throne of Maissour, attacked and subdued Canara[x]. They were terrified at the success of a Moslem conqueror; but he treated them with mildness and humanity, and confirmed their privileges. Far different was the conduct of his son Tippoo, who, although he found them ready to submit to his authority, pretended to suspect that, under the influence of Christian zeal, they would not long remain faithful subjects to a prince of his religion. He therefore insisted on their adoption of that system which he preferred, and, observing their reluctance, proceeded to acts of violence and outrage. He banished or imprisoned the priests; sent the greater part of their flocks to Seringapatam and other towns, to linger in poverty and wretchedness; destroyed the churches, and seised the lands. The fall of the tyrant, however, in 1799, revived the establishment. Those who had been compelled to renounce the Christian faith, were re-admitted into the church; many who had emigrated during the persecution returned into Canara; religious structures gradually arose in various parts; and, in 1818, the population was estimated at 21,800. Agriculture is the occupation of the majority of this number; and, in that and other employments, the industrious habits and orderly conduct of the people are eminently conspicuous.

[x] In the year 1767.

The spiritual concerns of this community are conducted by about twenty-five priests, who receive instructions from the primate of Goa. The religion of the establishment is consequently that of the Romish church. The mass is solemnised in Latin, while the sermon and other parts of the service are delivered in the vernacular tongue. Images of our Redeemer, the Virgin Mary, and favorite saints, are exhibited in the churches, and receive humble adoration; but public processions are avoided, from an unwillingness to shock the prejudices of the Hindoos. There is no ecclesiastical tribunal in the province, and the only punishment inflicted by the church is that of excommunication, of which there are two species, one trifling, and the other not so severe as to preclude the exercise of kind and charitable offices toward the delinquent.

Other parts of India, as well as a part of Canara, have received the Gospel from catholic emissaries. A missionary, writing to a friend in the year 1806, represented the Romish places of worship as very numerous in Travancour; but he added, that, in most of them, mass was performed only once in two years. Notwithstanding this apparent neglect of exterior ordinances, he thought that above 1000 catholic missionaries were dispersed over India; but this, we apprehend, is an exaggeration. We know, however, that the protestant missionaries are very numerous, extending their labors in one direction from Lahor to Cape Comorin, and, in another, from the Persian frontier to China. The mission in the province of Bengal appears to be the most flourishing; and it is more regularly organised, in consequence of the establishment of an episcopal see and a college at Calcutta. The late Dr. Middleton labored with great zeal for the diffusion both of Christianity and learning among the Hindoos; and his successor in the bishopric (Dr. Heber) is usefully employed in the promotion of the same objects.

The promoters of Christianity are not very successful in the Chinese empire. They are rarely suffered to penetrate into the interior parts of the country[x]; and,

[x] It is affirmed that, in the year 1815, the French missionaries and

even at Canton, where the British influence is very considerable, they are viewed with an eye of jealousy, and checked in their benevolent purposes. In the hope of more auspicious times, they carry on their operations at Macao, and also at Malacca, where a college has been erected, in which are many Chinese students. The New Testament has been translated into the Chinese language; and copies have been gladly accepted by many of those emigrants who have transferred their industry and arts to the islands of the Indian ocean.

In Syria and the Holy Land, our missionaries are also actively engaged. They hold religious conversations with the natives of all persuasions, preach the pure word of God, distribute translations of the Scriptures and religious tracts, and establish schools. Their success is not equal to their wishes: yet they are not discouraged. If they convert few of the Jews or Moslems, they guide the members of the Greek and Latin churches into a better path in their religious journey. As the Druses are supposed by some antiquaries to be, in a great measure, the descendants of the crusaders of the middle ages, it might be expected that they would be disposed to listen to the exhortations of Christian preachers. Many of them certainly are so inclined; the reigning emir is said to be a Christian in his heart; and we are assured that the votaries of the Gospel in their country out-number the followers of the Koran. However that may be, the Druses certainly live on more friendly terms with the Christians than the subjects of any other government in Western Asia.

In Egypt, the few Europeans who undertake the task of conversion are treated with mildness by the pasha who now rules over that country as an independent prince; but, though he is fond of European arts, he is not inclined to assist in the propagation of that faith which his hereditary prejudices teach him to reprobate, and the labors of the missionaries are counter-acted by the efforts

their converts had chapels at Fokien and other towns, but that a persecution arose against them, and ruined a concern which seemed to promise well.

of itinerant Moslems, sent from a college at Cairo to enforce the doctrines of the pseudo-prophet.

The Abyssinians might be called a religious people, if we could depend on their professions of piety; but, when they make pompous boasts of their zeal, they speak more like Pharisees than lovers of truth. They are more attentive to forms and ceremonies than to the practice of true holiness and virtue; for their morality hangs loosely upon them, and their conduct is not sufficiently regulated by the laws of honor or by good principles. Their addiction to perjury is an odious trait in their characters; for they will frequently imprecate curses upon themselves if their assertions should be false, knowing at the same moment that they are wholly unfounded; and, when the king has sworn that he will pardon a delinquent, whom he afterwards wishes to punish, he says to his attendants, 'Take notice that I scrape this oath away from the tongue which pronounced it,'—making movements and gestures corresponding with his faithless declaration. They do not regard marriage as a religious obligation, and the priests therefore do not officiate on the occasion; and chastity is little regarded by either sex. They consider fasting as a strong proof of piety; but the priests, while they order the laity to fast about 190 days in a year, only practise that kind of forbearance for 70 days. At the end of each fast the chief priest entertains his brethren, who greedily devour the raw flesh of a cow, sing hymns, and drink some fermented liquor until they are stupified. With regard to the authority of the abuna or metropolitan, it does not appear that he has a great extent of power or patronage. Officers, who are not required to be priests, administer the revenues of the churches and monasteries, and determine spiritual causes, —an appeal to the king alone being permitted, if the decision should not give satisfaction.

CHAPTER III.

History of the Ecclesiastical Communities of the Lutherans and Calvinists.

THE Lutherans still bear the chief sway in the Swedish and Danish kingdoms. Their zeal, however, is less fervent than it formerly was, and they are less arbitrary and intolerant. They begin to partake of the candor and liberality which are now more prevalent than even in the last century; they entertain more just sentiments of the right which all persons have to think for themselves in points of religion and of conscience; and they are more disposed to follow, in practice, that rational and well-founded axiom. Indeed, they now grant full toleration, from which even the Jews are not excluded. The addition of Norway to the kingdom of Sweden, in the year 1814, tended to infuse a more liberal spirit into the government. The easy acquisition of a new territory puts a prince into good-humor, and he instantly becomes more mild and conciliatory: but, even before that event, it was ordained, in the new constitution which was promulgated in 1809, that no person should be harassed or called to an account for his religious opinions, unless it should clearly appear that his avowal of them, or the exercise of that religion to which they appertained, might be injurious to the state. This exception, it may be said, furnished a pretence for molesting the sectaries; yet the ordinance, we believe, was intended to convey a complete toleration.

The present Danish government is liberal and beneficent; and the king is as attentive to the interest of the church as to that of the state. Aware of the poverty of his clerical subjects in Iceland, he allows pensions to those who cannot procure a sufficiency of income from the limited bounty of their congregations; and he evinces his Christian zeal in the promotion of missionary undertakings.

In the kingdom of the Netherlands, formed in the year 1814 by the union of the seven United Provinces

with those which the French had wrested from the hands of the Austrian emperor, the sovereign, though a Calvinist, granted to his new subjects an entire freedom of religious opinion and worship, and an equal share with the protestants in the representative government. This equality did not satisfy the prelates, who were of opinion that the Romish faith, followed for so many ages by the people of the Netherlands, entitled its professors to superior privileges: but the king, instead of adopting their suggestion, merely promised that every proposal connected with their religion should be submitted to the consideration of an executive committee, consisting of catholics. Since that time, they have occasionally vented their ill humor in complaints and remonstrances; but they cannot effectually resist the commanding influence of the protestants. In 1825, the king gratified them by the establishment of a seminary, in which candidates for the catholic ministry might acquire a sufficient fund of learning for the proper discharge of their sacred trust. With the same view, and in the same spirit of complacency, the college of Maynooth in Ireland is supported by the liberality of a protestant parliament.

In France, the protestants are chiefly Calvinists. With regard both to the French and German branches of that sect, it was stipulated, in the agreement between Napoleon and the pope, that a synod, composed of five consistorial churches, should regulate all religious and ecclesiastical concerns, but that its resolutions should be submitted to the rulers of the state for confirmation; and that the appointment of pastors should be subject to similar recognition or approbation. If the contributions of the different communities should be insufficient for the support of the officiating ministers, the government promised to increase the amount to a fair allowance. As the incorporation of a part of Germany with France had added a multitude of Lutherans to the state, it was provided by the same *concordat*, that their church should be regulated, under the authority of the consuls, by consistories both general and local, and by councils of inspection. The ministers of the Calvinist persuasion were to be educated at Geneva, and

those of the Lutheran church at a peculiar seminary of their own religion. When the territories in which these protestants resided were withdrawn by the allied powers from the French yoke, in the year 1815, such regulations were made as softened the arbitrary clauses of the former compact, and yet left a controlling authority in the hands of the civil power.

The attachment of the elector (now king) of Saxony to the Romish faith did not induce the people of that country to relinquish their habitual regard for the Lutheran system; and therefore no catholic bishop is allowed to act or reside in that realm, except the king's confessor, to whom the pope grants the authority of an apostolic vicar. In Upper-Lusatia, some dignitaries who form a *chapter* elect a mitred dean, in the presence and with the approbation of an Austrian commissary; and, at Bautzen, there is a chapter which, though catholic, has a Lutheran president. In civil rights, the members of the two communions now stand upon an equal footing in Saxony.

In the Hanoverian territories, the catholics were long subjected, by the Lutheran rulers of the state, to various restrictions. They were not allowed to carry the host publicly, or to have any processions; and, in points of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, they were obliged to have recourse to the odious authority of a Lutheran consistory. But more auspicious days at length dawned upon them; and they are now gratified with all the rights of citizens.

In the three electoral archbishoprics (Mentz, Cologne, and Treves), which were incorporated with the Prussian monarchy by the congress of Vienna, it might be supposed that the catholics, forming the bulk of the population, would be treated with lenity and indulgence, if not highly favored; and, in fact, they have greater privileges than their brethren who reside in other parts of the king's dominions. They have, at the court of Rome, an agent who promotes their interest, and encourages the pope to counter-act the arbitrary spirit of Frederic. In Silesia, where the catholics form only a third part of the population of the capital, the king has suppressed some of their monasteries, and precluded all appeals to Rome. In East-Prussia he

suffers no Romish bishop to act, though the priests are retained; and, in Brandenburg and other provinces, he rules the sect with a high hand, yet not with oppressive tyranny. At the same time, he favors the Calvinists more than the Lutherans, but is so far from suffering the former to molest the latter, that he would rather witness their union than their discord.

The increasing liberality of sentiment, in the present age, is strikingly evinced by the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in many of the German states. The grand duke of Nassau, being connected in marriage with a lady of the latter persuasion, and wishing to preclude religious differences among his children, resolved, as far as his influence could extend, to unite his family and his subjects in the same devotional forms and worship; and his laudable endeavours were crowned with success. In the grand duchy of Hesse and some other states the example was speedily followed; and the completion of three centuries from the first exertions of Luther in the cause of religious reform, furnished an appropriate day[y] for the first public celebration of the new union. To all liberal-minded Christians this must have been a day of joy and of sincere congratulation. They recurred to the page of history for an elucidation of the dawn of religious reform: they reflected on the troubles and sufferings to which their ancestors were subjected in the progress of emancipation from the yoke of a corrupt church; and they now hailed with heart-felt satisfaction the union of those who, without differing on essential points, had long been unhappily divided[z].

Notwithstanding these approaches to an union of sentiment, differences of religious opinion still subsist in various parts even of protestant Germany; for an uniform standard of thought cannot be expected to exist in any com-

[y] In the year 1817.

[z] Among the Bavarian protestants, this reconciliation was adjusted with particular formality in the year 1818. The united establishment received the appellation of the Protestant Evangelical Christian Church, and the holy scripture was declared to be the only basis of faith to which its members ought to adhere.

munity. In those universities in which freedom of speech is in any degree allowed, the desire of political liberty appears to be accompanied with free-thinking on the subject of religion. It is affirmed by professor Tholuck, that the university of Halle is the seat of infidelity, and that even some of the teachers of theology are infected with an anti-christian spirit. This hostility to the truth, he says, is still more prevalent at Weimar, where zealous Christians are discountenanced and persecuted: but he seems, in this instance, to have used the language of exaggeration. We admit that those who wish to be reformers in politics are in general equally desirous of what they call a reformation in religion; but the charge of infidelity is the common resource of intolerant bigots, who are offended even with such as differ from them in unimportant particulars, and stigmatise, as infidelity, that which is merely a sectarian difference of opinion.

Dissatisfied with the religious systems established in Germany, the baroness Krudener ventured to propose a reform. This lady, in her youth, was not strongly impressed with sentiments of piety. Her vivacity seemed to disdain all restrictions, and her morals were not pure or correct: but, in the progress of her studies, she at length met with the works of Stilling, a German enthusiast, whose effusions, operating upon the warmth of her disposition, excited in her mind a strong devotional spirit. When the sparks of her piety were kindled into a flame, she resolved to illuminate the world, as far as her abilities would allow, and began, in the year 1813, to propagate her opinions publicly at Heidelberg. In the following year she visited Paris, in the character of a religious reformer, and prayed and preached at her hotel for the edification of the dissolute and depraved French; but, while she amused them by her eccentricity, she made no impression upon their minds. To Switzerland she afterwards directed her course, and preached in the open air to large congregations. She dwelt on the necessity of regeneration, and asserted the saving power of faith and grace, even without those works which are meritorious in the opinion of the world. She was consequently more

severe in her denunciations against what the Methodists call sin, than against acts of worldly wickedness and guilt. She pretended to be convinced that her frequent and earnest prayers had so far secured the divine favor, as to give her that inspired and influential character which enabled her to reclaim thousands of sinners: but, by declaiming at the same time against some civil ordinances, she so displeased the rulers of several cantons, that they ordered her to quit the country. Retiring into the duchy of Baden, she assembled at her house the supposed friends of true religion, and boldly continued her career, until the magistrates stopped these irregular proceedings. She thus became sensible of the danger of defying the constituted authorities, and was more prudent and cautious in her subsequent conduct. She lived many years unmolested on an estate which she possessed near Riga, where, as well as in her other places of abode, she was idolised by the poor for her numerous acts of charity and beneficence. She died in the Crimea, in 1824, without the fame of having instituted a formal sect.

While a protestant lady of Germany thus asserted her pretensions to the honor of inspiration, a Romish fanatic of the same country seemed to think himself equally favored with the divine aid. This was the prince Alexander Hohenlohe of Bamberg, who pretended that he could cure bodily disorders by prayers and devotional exercises; and several cases have been obtruded on the credulous part of the community, containing attestations, seemingly strong, of the providential grant of relief (at the precise time when the prince solemnised the mass and offered up prayers to Heaven) to persons in distant countries, whose friends had applied to him in the fullness of their faith and the fervor of their zeal.

Of the twenty-two cantons which now compose the Helsetic confederacy, six are attached to the protestant communion; and of these Bern is the most populous and flourishing. In six of the states, the catholics and protestants bear equal sway, while the other ten cantons follow the Romish system. In these, a tolerating disposition usually prevails; but there has lately been an ex-

ception from that rule in the case of the Pays de Vaud. A new sect arose in this canton, or rather a number of persons resolved to commence a more methodical course of religious duties and devotional exercises, not supposing that their zeal in this respect could excite the displeasure of the ruling power. If they had restricted these marks of piety to their own families, the government would not have taken the least notice of their conduct; but their offence, it seems, consisted in propagating the same spirit among others, by inviting their friends to their houses to join in these acts of worship. It does not appear that they entertained any new opinions or heterodox notions; and therefore the great council of the canton had no sufficient ground of interference; nor ought it, indeed, to have interfered, even if the people had been heretically disposed; for, as belief depends on the unsophisticated mind, it ought never to be subjected to force or constraint. A minister of the Gospel, however, was accused, in the year 1824, of the *heinous crime* of having read and expounded a chapter of the Scriptures to four persons beside his own family, and condemned to banishment for three years by his arbitrary judges[a]. Other ministers were arraigned for similar conduct; but, when twenty-six clergymen petitioned the government to relax its rigor in cases of this kind, the prosecutions, we believe, were discontinued.

While the catholics sometimes transgressed the limits prescribed by the government, but (in the case which we have stated) without serious delinquency, the protestants occasionally deviated from the ordinary course of legitimate proceedings, and, in one case, disgraced their holy cause by sanguinary excesses. In a village of the canton of Zurich, the family and neighbours of a farmer, named John Peter, were infected with the superstitious folly of his daughter Margaret, who, having a tendency to

[a] Des Persecutions Religieuses dans le Canton de Vaud.—A similar case occurred in France in 1825. At the village of St. Etienne, one man, sixteen women, and two children, were apprehended for meeting at a private house to read the New Testament; and, for this alleged violation of the law, they were reprimanded by the magistrates and fined.

devout enthusiasm, had been inflamed into absolete phrensy by the effusions of itinerant preachers. So high was the opinion of her sanctity, that she was even supposed to have been favored with celestial inspiration; and, by the influence which she thus obtained, she was enabled to hold religious assemblies, in which the most shameful extravagances and the most hideous enormities were practised. She maintained the necessity of waging perpetual war with Satan, to prevent him from triumphing over Jesus Christ, and recommended, as the most effectual mode of saving souls from the grasp of the restless fiend, either an act of self-sacrifice, or the infliction of mortal wounds on friends and relatives. At a meeting of her disciples, she attacked one of her brothers with such fury, that only the opportune aid of a female domestic saved him from death. Her sister then offered herself as a victim, and was beaten to death with an iron mallet by the cruel enthusiast and one of her mad friends. Her father did not actually witness these outrages; but he knew that she was perpetrating some enormity, and yet did not rush into the apartment to secure peace and order. He suffered the storm to rage, while he calmly pursued his ordinary occupations. Margaret's phrensy was not yet cooled; and, while she sat on the bed on which remained the palpitating body of her sister, she began to strike herself with the mallet. Not satisfied with the vigor of her own arm, she desired a friend to use the instrument with fatal effect; but, suddenly thinking that crucifixion would be a more legitimate death, she insisted on suffering that species of torture. Some pieces of timber were then placed upon the bed in the form of a cross, and to these she was deliberately nailed, without seeming to feel any pain,—so great was her fortitude, and so determined her self-devotement. At length she said, 'Drive a nail into my heart, or split my head;' the latter part of the alternative was instantly executed, and a low moan announced her expiration. A judicial inquiry was made into these horrid acts; and Ursula Kundig, the most willing and ready agent in the work of murderous fanaticism, was sentenced to imprisonment and labor for sixteen

years. Some of Margaret's male associates were deprived, for the rest of their lives, of their political rights; and her father's house, the scene of her folly and cruelty, was demolished. Her opinions and fancies were not immediately renounced by her votaries, some of whom pretended to believe that she would soon re-appear in the world.

The commanding number of protestants in Switzerland may be supposed to keep those of Piedmont in countenance; but the latter (we mean the Vaudois) have been so discouraged by the bigotry of the court and the Romish clergy, that they are reduced to a small number, not exceeding 20,000, who are under the spiritual direction of thirteen pastors. They preserve those tenets which they maintained on their original separation from the Romish church. 'We are called heretics by the members of that church (said their primate Peyrani to a late visitant of their secluded valleys); but our church is founded on the durable rock of Christianity. We have adhered to the pure tenets of the apostolic age, and the Romanists have separated from us.'

In all the states of which we have been speaking, the Jews were at an early period mingled with the Christians, notwithstanding the rooted odium which subsisted between the humbled posterity of the ancient patriarchs and the triumphant adorers of the Messiah. Although the former may be thought to have no concern in a history of the church of Christ, it may not be altogether improper to take notice of the treatment which they have received in our time from the Christian governments. While the French revolution was in progress, Gregoire was the first who openly proposed that they should be rescued from the state of degradation to which they had long been subjected; and, as freedom was then (ostensibly at least) the order of the day, there was no pretence for with-holding it from the Israelites. In consequence of this change of opinion, they were admitted into corporations, promoted to a variety of offices, obtained considerable rank in the army during Napoleon's sway, and were deemed not unfit to belong even to his celebrated Legion of Honor. It was pretended that he entertained the idea of re-establishing their power in

Palestine; but, though he perhaps mentioned that wild scheme in a moment of rhodomontade, he had no intention of carrying it into effect. By his order, however, seventy-four deputies, representing the whole Jewish community in the French empire, met at Paris, in 1806, and gave satisfactory answers to various questions respecting their institutions and practices, and their ideas of the allegiance due to the government. In return, they were assured by the emperor, that he would not only secure to them the free exercise of their religion, but the full enjoyment of the rights of French citizens. This meeting was followed by one of a more dignified character and a more religious nature,—even by the convocation of the grand Sanhedrim. The revival of an assembly which had so long been discontinued gladdened the hearts of the Jews. Those of Italy were requested to send deputies to it; and the Mosaic tribes of Germany readily concurred in the proposed reform. Their worship was re-organised at the meeting; their moral system was placed on a more sound basis; and their civil conduct was judiciously regulated.

In Germany, Lessing, the philosophic dramatist, was the first who publicly avowed himself a friend to the Jews; and, with a view to their rescue from degradation and contempt, he introduced upon the stage a worthy and respectable Jew, as Cumberland did at a later period in England. He also gave the hand of friendship to Mendelsohn (a youth of that despised race), whose subsequent literary exertions tended to dispel the mists of prejudice, and promote the diffusion of just and liberal principles. Some distinguished statesmen espoused the same cause, and urged the rulers under whom they acted to extend equal protection to all classes of their subjects. Indeed, the loyal zeal of the Jews entitled them to the favorable opinion of the German princes; and, from some of these rulers, they received honorable testimonies of approbation, and, from the Prussian monarch, all the rights of citizens. These marks of regard gave them a degree of confidence which the zealous Christians construed into arrogance; and hence arose in some of the cities, loud clamors against

them. The senate of Lubeck resolved to treat them as strangers or aliens, and prohibited them from carrying on any branch of trade within the limits of the city; and, in several other free towns, the obnoxious Israelites were assailed by the tumultuous fury of the populace. But the envoys of the chief German powers, assembled at Carlsbad, were so far from being disposed to countenance these unjustifiable proceedings, that they menaced the constituted authorities of those cities with signal marks of displeasure, if the Jews should not meet with that protection which they had a right to claim. This interposition was at once honorable to the great powers and effective in its result.

In Holland, long before the present age, the Jews enjoyed full toleration and complete protection. They increase rather than decline in number, and now compose a thirtieth part of the population. At Amsterdam they have many synagogues; but the most respectable congregation is that which, near the close of the last century, was formed by the secession of some German Jews from the old community.

In Poland, the Jews are highly favored; and it has been remarked (by many visitants of that kingdom) that they have a greater appearance of consequence and dignity, than the Israelites who reside in any other country. They carry on the chief trade, and, except the nobles, they form the most opulent portion of the community.

In Great-Britain, the Jews cannot expect to be encouraged, because it has been repeatedly declared, from the judicial bench, that Christianity is a part of the established and constitutional law of the realm: yet, with the exception of power and office, they have every reason to be satisfied with their lot. They have opportunities of acquiring opulence, and they well know that riches not only impart comfort, but promote influence. Even under the sway of Roman-catholic princes and the tyranny of Moslem barbarians, they are not prevented from indulging in their favorite practice of pecuniary accumulation; and, if they are sometimes harassed and fleeced, they are not totally ruined.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Church of England and its Dependencies, of the various Sects in the British Dominions, and of the Ecclesiastical Communities in the United States of America.

Our divines affect to consider the church of England as the best of all Christian establishments, because they belong to it; and many persons who have no interest in it, and who are therefore less prejudiced observers, entertain the same opinion. Yet there are some who venture to make one objection to the establishment, by alleging that the princely incomes of many of our prelates excite, in the public mind, suspicions of ambition and of selfishness, and that theological aspirants seek high preferments from motives of interest, much more than from views of piety. The primitive bishops, say these objectors, were content with the means of comfortable subsistence and of respectable appearance; luxury, parade, and ostentation, had no charms for them; they were meek and humble-minded, and aimed only at the propagation of religious sentiments in that mode which was most likely to render them efficacious. But many ages, they continue to observe, did not elapse before the prelates were corrupted by the flattery and submission of superstitious votaries, and by the increasing prosperity of the church; and they were then disposed to assume the lordly demeanor and high tone of the noble and the opulent. Even he who styled himself the "servant of the servants of God" gladly accepted the grant of temporal sovereignty and of princely power, and, in his new capacity, acted more as the domineering potentate than as the father or friend of his people. Such conduct, in the opinion of these censors, did not tend to promote the prevalence of a proper sense of religion, which would have been more generally diffused, if the leading members of the clerical body had not raised themselves so highly above the ordinary state of society.

Without presuming to settle this dispute, which Mr. Burke triumphantly (as he thought) decided in favor of

the prevailing system, we take this opportunity of remarking, that our church is apparently more pure, in point of doctrine, than any other Christian establishment, and that its discipline is liable to few or no objections. We also readily allow that the episcopal bench exhibits talent, erudition, and virtue, and that the inferior clergy are, in general, respectable; but, if their piety should be accompanied with greater zeal and earnestness, their exhortations and example would be more influential and edifying.

The state of our church, at the close of the last century, was as tranquil as it was flourishing. It was not agitated by such dissensions as had prevailed at the time when the convocation acted in some measure like a parliament; and it exhibited a dignified front and an air of boldness, which over-awed the discontented part of the nation. The majesty of the fabric was supposed to contribute to the preservation of its strength; and, while the bishops, deans, and archdeacons, kept the inferior ranks of the clerical order in a state of due submission and ready obedience, the church militant bore the aspect of a formidable phalanx. It might reasonably have been concluded, that the conscientious spirit which induced the protestants to claim for themselves the full freedom of religious opinion, would have disposed them to tolerate every sect which demanded the same right; but it unfortunately happens, that both churchmen and politicians, when *out of* power, make pompous promises and plausible protestations, which they are not willing to remember when they are *in* power. Thus the champions of the church of England, when they had obtained a separate establishment by differing from *the pope*, would not quietly suffer any sectaries to differ from *them*. Even archbishop Cranmer, who was considered as very mild and humane, became a cruel persecutor, when poor and humble Christians ventured to differ from him; and queen Elizabeth, when she had subverted the Romish system in this country, put many persons to death for only asserting the same privileges which she claimed for herself and her supporters. The puritans also (when, under the appellation of Presbyterians, they gained the ascendency about the middle of

the seventeenth century), persecuted the adherents of the church of England with bitter animosity; and toleration did not properly exist in this country before the reign of king William III., who, while he studiously discountenanced the violent spirit and malignity of the *catholics*, admitted the *protestants* of every denomination to the free exercise of their religion. The catholics were not then entitled to such indulgence, because time had not then shown the increase of their humanity, or the melioration of their social feelings; and even now, when there is no reason to suppose that they would break out into the brutal fury of religious murder, even if they had the opportunity of authoritative exertion, we still say that they ought not to be trusted with *power*. They still cherish the zeal of conversion; they still brand us with the stigma of heresy; they still think that no one can be saved out of the pale of their church. They may say that we have no right to censure them for entertaining such an opinion; yet we have a right to exclude them from that establishment which they would wish to overturn, and from those emoluments in which, if they should ever gain their grand object, they would not allow us to participate. They, and also their puritanical opponents, refused to tolerate when they ought to have been so inclined, and would still, we apprehend, be equally bigoted; but the members of the church of England have derived lenity from the softening progress of time, and now make every concession that their adversaries can reasonably demand. They allow full protection and constitutional security, while they with-hold the grant of that power which may be abused and misapplied. This is the point which is still disputed between the advocates of the establishment on one hand, and the catholics and protestant dissenters on the other. The only ground of refusal, on the part of the former, is the danger that may be apprehended from that hostility which their opponents cannot fully disguise. Notwithstanding this ground of alarm, the leaders of the cabinet, in the year 1807, were advocates for the claims of the catholics. At a time when the rancorous hostility of a powerful enemy threatened the kingdom with serious danger, it

became highly expedient to concentrate all the energy of the nation, and call forth the animated exertions of every class and of every sect. It was therefore proposed by the ministry, that the permission which had been granted to the Irish catholics to hold any rank in the army except the highest stations, should be extended to their brethren in Great-Britain, and that persons of all religious persuasions should likewise be allowed to serve in the navy. When the scheme was communicated to the king, he reluctantly gave his assent to the introduction of a bill on the subject. Its provisions, on more deliberate consideration, were in some degree extended; and his majesty then not only made strong objections to it, but insisted on a written assurance from the ministers, that they would never again bring it forward. They properly refused to agree to a demand which they deemed (and which unquestionably was) irregular and unconstitutional, and retired from the public service. The dread of danger from too great concessions to a sect avowedly hostile to the protestant ascendency, spread from the throne among the people, and the cry of 'no popery' again prevailed, not merely because it was artfully raised by the partisans of the new ministry, but from the general unwillingness of the nation to favor an intolerant sect.

As it was supposed that the prince regent was not hostile to the claims of the catholics, their advocates brought forward the question, in 1813, at a time when the zeal of the British nation against them seemed to be dormant. Mr. Grattan denied that they contended for power; they only desired (he said) the same civil rights and official qualifications which other citizens enjoyed. He adduced the instances of France and Hungary to prove, that even the bigotry of catholic governments allowed them to give more than mere toleration to the protestants; and this was an example which our parliament ought readily to follow with regard to the present claimants. In the bill which he introduced, it was proposed that they should be eligible to a seat in parliament, and might be appointed to any civil office whatever, except two or three of the highest employments, on taking

a new oath against the pope's temporal power and pretended infallibility, and disavowing any intention of subverting or disturbing the protestant establishment, either in the church or the state. When the question was put on the parliamentary clause, it was rejected by a majority of four votes; and the bill, having thus lost its leading feature, was indignantly relinquished by those who had exerted their whole strength in its support. Even the catholics were not united in its favor; for the prelates of their sect, in Ireland, alleged that it would encroach on the due exercise of their functions, and on the spiritual jurisdiction of their supreme pastor, although this result was not contemplated by the framers of the bill.

For many years the inferior catholics seemed to treat with indifference the question of their *emancipation* (as the claim was styled by their leaders); but they at length loudly called, more particularly those of Ireland, for the restoration of their rights, and it was resolved that every effort should be made to interest the parliament in their behalf. Sir Francis Burdet, in the year 1825, readily undertook the enforcement of what he conceived to be their just pretensions, and introduced a bill which obtained the support of the house of commons; but the peers, impressed with a sense of constitutional policy, rejected the bill by a majority of 48 votes. This disappointment did not discourage the bold sectaries. Although an association which they had formed for the more effectual prosecution of their grand object was suppressed by a specific statute, they declared that no obstacles which might be thrown in their way by the illiberality and malice of their adversaries should deter them from a renewal of their demands.

Among the protestant sects in Great-Britain, the Presbyterians are considered as the most numerous class; the Independents are said to be the next in point of number; and the Baptists, or Anabaptists, are supposed to take the third place. The Methodists are rapidly increasing; and, indeed, their ministers in general are more earnest and zealous than the preachers among the other sects, and thus make a more powerful and permanent

impression. A Methodist, taking notice of the doctrine of that sect in 1814, says, 'Our principles want to be revised, to be more accurately defined, and more steadily fixed. Sometimes we acknowlege that we lean too much toward Calvinism; and then, to avoid the rocks of Antinomianism, we vibrate to the extreme of Arminianism, or the borders of Pelagianism; and every thing that bears a resemblance to Calvinism is now scouted with detestation, as bordering on heresy; and, in these alternate vacillations, we drop some of the precious jewels of the Gospel, which our intemperate zeal has identified with the dross of heresy and corruption; nor do we discover our loss until we see the noxious weeds of Pharisaism springing up in every corner of the Lord's vineyard.' These lamentations are evidently those of a Calvinist, whose judgement was so warped by prejudice, as to lead him into opinions which he could not support by reason or argument; and when he says, in another place, that the 'principles of Methodism have assumed that rigid Arminian aspect, which has often covered their face, as with a shield of brass, and (as they are sometimes delineated in our pulpits) has rendered them almost impervious to the heavenly rays of mercy and grace,' he mistakes the nature of that doctrine which he condemns, and transfers to it that censure which is much more applicable to the gloomy tenets of Calvinism.[b]

Amidst the multiplication of the votaries of *grace*, the followers of the *spirit* (we mean the Quakers) do not augment their number; we may rather say, that, for many years past, this has been a declining sect. Their more extensive concerns in trade, and the consequent increase of their connexions with worldly-minded men, and with the mass of the community, may have partly contributed to this effect; and, amidst the fondness for pleasure that pervades the nation, many of them may have imbibed a spirit of dissipation, which the grave elders of the fraternity have been unwilling to countenance. A philosophic reader may be induced to add, that the more enlightened reflexion of modern times must have had the

[b] He ostensibly examines only the state of the Methodist societies in Ireland, but seems in effect to extend his remarks to Great-Britain.

principal effect in accelerating the decline of Quakerism. Whatever may be the *causes* of it, the *fact* is admitted by the *Friends* themselves. They still form, however, a respectable sect, and are more attentive than the Methodists to the dictates of morality; and a summary view of the principles which they at the present time profess, may perhaps gratify the curious observer of sectarian varieties. They are of opinion, that God has imparted to all human beings, though in different degrees, a portion of his own *spirit*, without which it would be impossible for them to discern spiritual things, or even to understand the Scriptures. It is, they say, a primary and infallible guide; and, as those who encourage it are in their progress to salvation or redemption, it becomes also a *redeemer*. They consider redemption in two points of view; either as it is promoted by outward or inward means, or as it relates to past or future sins. Jesus Christ, by offering himself as a victim, effected the former redemption; but it is the spirit, or Christ within, which tends to produce the latter, by leading to regeneration and to the perfection of piety and virtue. Christ, they add, was *man*, because he became *incarnate*; and he was *divinity*, because he was the *word*. A resurrection, they think, will take place, though not of the body as it is. In the regulations of future punishment, guilt will not be imputed to any one on the ground of original sin, or the delinquency of Adam and Eve, but only for the actual commission of sin. Baptism and the eucharist are not essentials of Christianity as outward ordinances, but only as they are administered by the spirit. By this internal guide, persons of both sexes are qualified for the ministerial functions; and, like the primitive Christians, they ought to preach the Gospel gratuitously. No difference of religious opinion can be a just ground of obloquy or persecution. Evil ought not to be returned for evil; and not only all private violence, but all wars and public hostilities, ought to be avoided. The loss of life is not a proper punishment for any crime; the reformation of a delinquent ought to be the great object of jurisprudence. The laws ought not in any case to be forcibly

resisted; and, even if the conscience should be offended by submitting to them, the penalties are to be patiently borne. Moral education ought to be the object of particular attention; and it is the duty of every religious community, not only to assist its poor members in point of bodily comfort, but to provide for the instruction of their children. The dignity of man requires, that his word should be equivalent to an oath; and the Scriptures, in the most positive manner, confirm this sentiment. Trade is not in itself degrading; but honesty, and a punctual adherence to engagements, are requisite for its prosecution, and such branches as may be attended with the moral detriment of the trader himself or of others, ought to be carefully avoided by every Christian.

These principles unquestionably exhibit the Quakers in the light of a moral sect; and those who are well acquainted with them will not deny their general claim to that character. They may also be regarded as a friendly community, if not distinguished by politeness of behaviour or elegance of manners. Shrewdness and good sense are frequently observed among them, though we cannot affirm that many of them are eminent for learning or erudition.

The Quakers, when their sect had been fully formed, were scarcely ever divided by doctrinal disputes; but, early in the present century, they began to be agitated by a spirit of dissension; and the committee of management, selected at one of the annual meetings, seemed willing to assume a degree of authority which the synod never intended to allow. One of the friends, in a spirited pamphlet, animadverted upon this arrogant conduct, and particularly censured the proceedings against Hannah Bernard, an itinerant expounder of Quakerism, who, for denying the Trinity, expressing her disbelief in miracles, and differing from the committee in other points, had been prohibited from preaching. William Matthews also took up the pen against the new dictators, whom he accused of having arbitrarily excommunicated him for such doctrinal variations as he was prepared to justify. Dis-

sensions of this kind are occasionally renewed, without leading, however, to a violent explosion.

Although the Unitarians had been excused from the obligation of subscribing the thirty-nine articles, they were not satisfied while the act of king William hung over their heads, menacing them with penal inflictions, if they should deny the Trinity either in conversation or in writing; but from this state of apprehension they were relieved in the year 1813. Another ground of dissatisfaction still remained; for their marriages, like those of the catholics, were not considered as legal, when the ceremonies were merely accordant to their own ritual. They therefore repeatedly applied to the parliament for a redress of this grievance. On their last application, in 1825, they were alarmed at the declaration of the lord-chancellor, that, however they might think themselves protected by statute law, they are yet liable to prosecution and punishment, by the common law of the land, for denying that doctrine which is an essential part of Christianity. They loudly complained of this insinuation, and declared that they would take the earliest opportunity of obviating its effects. The learned judge says that they are not Christians, as they deny the divinity of our Redeemer; and yet he connives at the toleration enjoyed by the Jews, the avowed enemies of every establishment which bears the impress of Christianity. He has uniformly opposed their efforts to procure an act of parliament for the solemnisation of their marriages according to their own forms, and, in this pertinacity, he is supported by the majority of the peers, in defiance of the arguments and influence of his more liberal friend, the prime minister. There is no good reason for with-holding so slight a favor, or (as the Unitarians would say) so just a claim.

A new association has been formed upon the same basis. The framers of this society were at first Universalists, and so far orthodox as to be Trinitarians; but a doubt arose in the mind of one of the members, whether the holy Trinity really existed, and, in the progress of deliberation, he convinced himself that the idea of the divine Unity was a more rational doctrine. By the plausi-

bility of his arguments he drew others into his opinion; and, when the pastor of the flock pronounced it to be heretical, a secession was the natural result. The seceders publicly declared the motives and reasons of their conduct, and, as if they were at a loss for an ecclesiastical constitution, and had never before thought of such a subject, attentively studied the New Testament, with a view of ascertaining the nature and the laws of the primitive Christian church. The result of this inquiry was a conviction that the unity of the church was one of its principal characteristics; that the equality of its members distinguished the kingdom of Jesus from all political realms, and formed the true ground and security of Christian liberty; that this general equality ought not to prevent the appointment of elders and of deacons, who might preserve order in the establishment, and superintend its concerns; that not only these, but all the members of their society, had a right to teach and exhort, so as to preclude the necessity of appointing regular preachers; and that it was a sufficient ground of communion with their sect, to acknowlege the authority of Christ as a divine teacher, without regard to the various doctrines which have been engrafted upon that simple basis. They style themselves Free-thinking Christians, and appear to have made some progress in impressing others with their sentiments.

While these sectaries were extending their influence, a scheme of union was framed by the advocates of the same general principles. It was proposed, in the year 1825, that three partial societies should be united under the title of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, which would be authorised to embrace every object and circumstance connected with the propagation of Unitarianism. The proposal was readily adopted; and, as many protestant dissenters had lately joined in the petitions presented to the parliament against the relief of the catholics, the assembly took this opportunity of expressing a 'thorough disavowal and disapprobation' of such conduct, and a determination to support every effort which might be made to 'break the chains imposed by

interested or short-sighted policy upon the sacred rights of conscience.'

Some years before this concentration of Unitarian strength, a secession from the established church occurred, not perhaps very important, but at least entitled to our notice. Several ministers, who had been in the habit of conferring on religious topics, began to question the propriety of continuing in a state of external adherence to the church, when they entertained what they deemed reasonable objections to various parts of the ritual and the liturgy, and also disapproved the enforced dependence of the church (according to the present constitution) upon the temporal power. The baptismal service, they said, prescribed a ritual observance in lieu of a divine and spiritual operation: in the service appropriated to the dead, every one was styled a Christian, whereas many who were thus honored were merely so in external profession; and the Athanasian creed was repugnant to that scriptural declaration which promised salvation to all who believed in Christ. They at length resolved to renounce the general assent which they had given at their ordination to the thirty-nine articles, the homilies, and the prayer-book, while they readily acquiesced in particular clauses of those branches of our religious system; and, being conscientious men, they resigned their ecclesiastical preferments, which they considered as the wages of error, if not of iniquity. They then began to exercise their new ministry in the vicinity of Taunton; but, being considered as Antinomians, they were not so far respected as to be enabled to make great progress in the work of proselytism. They agreed with the Methodists in their opinion of *faith*, which alone, they thought, could produce a sinner's justification; and, when it was argued against them that they did not sufficiently inculcate the axiom of religious obedience, they alleged that their enforcement of the principle or the theory would lead to the requisite practice. They believed (as far as we can judge from the opinions of some individuals of their number) that Christ existed with God before the creation of the present world, and that he is

the proper object of religious worship, the prophet, priest, and king of the church; and they leaned to the doctrine of election, without making it so prominent a part of their system as the rigid Calvinists do. With regard to the Trinity, they held a middle course between the orthodox clergy and the Unitarians. Some variations have occurred in their opinions since their original secession; but these are of little moment, and are such as might reasonably be expected from sectaries who have not framed a deliberate creed.

The reveries of Joanna Southcott we mentioned on a former occasion. She continued her delusions long after the commencement of this century, and not only retained her influence over her original followers, but drew many more into her train. A seal, bearing the initials of her name, which she pretended to have accidentally found when she was at work in her master's house, furnished her with a pretence for declaring that she was authorised by Providence to propagate a new revelation; and, in the midst of her spiritual avocations, she derived temporal advantage from the sale of sealed passports for the admission of the faithful into the celestial regions. Near the close of her life, in the year 1814, she impudently announced herself as the future mother (though a virgin) of the Shiloh promised in holy writ. Her followers now became still more numerous, and, by their senseless liberality, presents were lavished upon the supposed object of divine favor, that the approaching birth might be celebrated with due splendor. The lady, however, died without enjoying the honor of being a mother. Many of her friends would not believe that she was actually dead, and fondly expected the speedy resuscitation of the spark of life: but, after an anxious suspense of four days, they resigned their hopes, and suffered her to be consigned, like an ordinary mortal, to the grave. Her chaplain then declared, that she had renounced, on her death-bed, the visions of her disordered brain; yet there are still, it is said, many who are not ashamed to own that they yet follow her opinions. It might have been supposed that her recantation would have put

an end to the delusion: but, even in enlightened times, the most senseless fanaticism will occasionally take possession of weak heads and narrow minds.

Compared with the wild fanaticism of Joanna, the sentiments of Dr. Alexander Tilloch may even seem reasonable. He was a philosophical and scientific man, who differed in some respects from the established church. He and his friends assumed the denomination of Christian Dissenters, declaring, at the same time, that they were slaves to no sect, though it was supposed that they entertained opinions similar to those of the Sandemanians. They professed a determination of directing their conduct by the rules and injunctions of the Scriptures, and went so far in the formation of a sect as to appoint two elders for the administration of their spiritual concerns. The death of the philosopher, in the year 1825, probably dissolved the association; for we do not hear of its continuance.

An attempt to form a religious party at Coventry may here be mentioned, though its features are not so marked as to entitle it to the distinction of a new sect. The members call themselves Samaritans, and we hope that their philanthropy gives them a just claim to the honorable appellation. They resemble the Quakers in the plainness of their apparel, in their allowance of female preachers, and their abstinence from oaths; but they seem to lean more to the doctrines of the Methodists than to those of any other sect.

A zealot named Muloch lately endeavoured to create a sect, by exclaiming against the corruptions of Christianity, and proposing such a reform as would, in his opinion, render that religion much more efficacious and salutary than it now is. By drawing the people about him at Oxford, and exhorting them to adopt his opinions and advice, he exposed himself to an attack from the supporters of orthodoxy: but the riot had no serious consequences. In his conduct toward the members of his society, he has shown himself to be more influenced by the arbitrary and intemperate spirit of Knox than the conciliatory mildness of Melanchthon.

Having thus treated of the established church, and also

noticed the deliberate secessions from its rules and ordinances, we advert to missionary concerns, in which both the orthodox and the heterodox are disposed to concur. Missions had been occasionally undertaken before the current century; but it is only in our times that the attempts of British subjects with that view have assumed a regular and systematic form. The English, for ages, were very slow in the promotion of missionary labors. They thought more of their immediate concerns than of foreign undertakings, and were content with the secure enjoyment of their religion at home, without troubling themselves about the faith or the piety of the rest of the world. Desultory attempts, indeed, were occasionally made for the conversion of the slaves in our colonies, and also of the neigbouring savages; and, after the establishment of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, either zealous and adventurous clergymen, or pious and well-educated laymen, were regularly employed in that salutary work; yet their operations were conducted on a small scale, and the government did not add its energetic weight to the scheme, but merely suffered it to take its course under that nominal encouragement which it derived from a royal charter. A new ebullition of zeal, however, in this cause, appeared before the close of the last century, and it has so far increased in vigor, as to form one of the marked features of the age in which we live. The first *stimulus* in our time appears to have been given by a mechanic of the name of Carey, and John Thomas, an equally zealous Christian. The former, being strongly inclined to preach the Gospel, had solicited and obtained the honor of ordination among the Baptists; and, at a meeting of his brethren, he proposed a question relative to the practicability of an effective diffusion of evangelical truth among the pagan communities. As the other ministers concurred with him in the affirmative opinion, he went with his family to India, accompanied by his friend, who had already preached to the Hindoos in Bengal. They were afterwards joined by some other missionaries, but were checked in their pious operations by the British government, and therefore

gladly took refuge in the Danish town of Serampour, where they opened a school, and converted some of the natives to Christianity. The marquis Wellesley at length allowed them to travel in those provinces which he governed; but this permission, far from being fully granted, was arbitrarily restricted. The missionaries, however, prosecuted their course without murmuring, and in some measure diminished the number of Pagans.

While Mr. Carey and his associates were thus employed, a scheme of conversion was formed, in the year 1800, on a grand and comprehensive plan by the ministers and friends of the established church, and the institution was denominated the 'Church Missionary Society to Africa and the East,' with a proviso that the ostensible limitation of the efforts of its members and missionaries should not 'bind them to an exclusion of their attempts from any other unoccupied place, which might present a prospect of success to their labors.' The leaders of the society at first resolved that none but those who had received episcopal ordination should act on these occasions; but, when it was found difficult to procure a sufficient number of clerical missionaries, catechists were employed in the propagation of the Christian doctrines and the enforcement of salutary precepts. For the promotion of these objects, pecuniary contributions were earnestly solicited in all parts of the kingdom and of its dependencies; and even the smallest donations were thankfully accepted. During many years, the produce was very inconsiderable, the zeal of the nation not being sufficiently awakened: yet the fund of the society continued to increase, and its income has enabled it to establish nine grand missions: these are extended over forty-two stations, comprehending 255 schools, in which about 1350 adults and 11,500 children are instructed in religion and the elements of literature[c]. For the use of these pupils and

[c] To this institution, and other schemes calculated for religious purposes, the subjects of the British empire are now more liberal than they ever were before our time. For instance, in the year 1822, they contributed a sum nearly amounting to 352,000*l.*—a subscription far exceeding the revenues of some German principalities. The

other inhabitants of the country about these stations, the Scriptures have been printed in a great variety of languages, and useful tracts, composed in a familiar style, have been circulated. As a specimen of the effect of these pious labors, the growing civilisation of the colony of Sierra Leone may be mentioned with pleasure. Two thirds of its population consist of negroes (rescued from the hands of base and infamous dealers in slaves), the majority of whom, by the care and example of Christian instructors, have been so far civilised as to become quiet and friendly neighbours, industrious artisans, and agriculturs, and devout frequenters of places of worship.

Other instances of missionary success may be drawn from many of the inhabited spots in the Pacific Ocean. In the Society Islands, in particular, a great change has taken place. The manners and deportment of the natives are comparatively civilised; their morals are much less depraved, and (says a reverend gentleman) a "system of idolatry has been annihilated, which was reared by treachery and crime, and had for ages, through the terrors which it inspired, kept the population in a state of abject wretchedness." The Scriptures have been trans-

British and Foreign Bible Society received much more than a fourth part of this sum; the next receipts, in point of magnitude, accrued to the Society for promoting Christian Knowlege; the next, to the Church Missionary Institution; the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies obtained the next proportion; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had a smaller, yet a considerable share; then came the Baptist Missionary Institution, and the Society for the Conversion of the Jews. The five societies which received the smallest sums were the following;—one which was established for the promotion of religious knowlege among the poor, one for the distribution of the Scriptures among seamen in the mercantile service, one for the diffusion of orthodox tracts, the Sunday School Society, and the Irish Society of London. This enumeration, though partial (for the list then published included thirty-one associations), serves to evince the proportional interest taken by the public in these pious undertakings. Many might think that the Gospel Society deserved the most marked encouragement from the contributors; but we have no right to blame, in this instance, the exercise of private discretion. These associations undoubtedly reflect great credit on the country to which we belong; and we trust that the zeal by which they are fostered will not suffer any abatement.

lated into that language which, with little variation of dialect, is diffused over many clusters of islands in the wide extent of the Pacific; and, in various places, public meetings are annually holden by the chieftains, to deliberate on the most effectual means of propagating that religion which they consider as a great blessing, communicated to them by the servants of God and the friends of mankind.

As the success of these labors, however, appeared to be partial and limited, it was found expedient to quicken, at intervals, the zeal of the public. It was therefore stated, in a late address from the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowlege, that the great increase of population in those territories to which its operations had been more particularly directed, rendered a considerable augmentation of the number of missionaries and school-masters necessary for the useful prosecution of its career, although these now exceeded 200 in the American colonies alone; that, 'with a view to the formation of a body of native clergy for the service of the colonies, the society had contributed largely to the support of the King's College (at Windsor in Nova-Scotia), by an annual grant and by the endowment of divinity scholarships and exhibitions;' that the directors of its funds had also made frequent grants toward the erection of churches in the infant settlements, and had been greatly instrumental in diffusing the national system of education over every part of the Trans-Atlantic colonies; and that another source of expenditure had been opened by the extended colonisation of the southern parts of Africa and the interior of New-Holland. Thus religious instruction and elementary learning were happily combined.

The systematic addition of the duty of the schoolmaster to that of the missionary arose from the zeal of the Rev. Dr. Bell, who, wishing to render ordinary scholarship more general, introduced a system of elementary education more comprehensive with regard to the number of pupils, and more rapid in its progress, than the ordinary mode of instruction. The supporters of the scheme boasted that 500 boys and girls might be taught

to read and write, and to perform the common rules of arithmetic, sooner than fifty in the usual way. The plan chiefly consisted in simultaneous dictation to a large assemblage, and in the employment of a number of instructors gradually selected from the aggregate number of the pupils.

The scheme has an air of quackery; but it has been practised with such success, in the national schools of Great-Britain, and in various parts of the continent, that there are more readers and writers than at any former period. It is now a prevailing wish that all the inhabitants of this and every other country should receive instruction in reading and writing: but the proposal has been condemned by some prejudiced men of the higher class of society, who pretend that the plebeian learners would thus sooner imbibe ideas of reform and false doctrines of every kind, or, from the pride of learning, would contract ideas too high for the stations which they might eventually fill. In reply to these objections we may remark, that principles of pretended reform may be taught to individuals who cannot read, and whose illiteracy will render them less able to detect the fallacies of the artful teacher; and, in the next place, that the instruction derivable by the poor from this plan, though useful, will not be of so elevated a kind as to inspire them with overweening pride or vanity, or give them a disgust to the meanness of ordinary occupations.

The labors of the missionaries in the West-Indies were exposed to a serious check by the commotions which arose at Barbadoes in the year 1823. Apprehending that the parliament might be induced to put an end to slavery, and knowing that measures had been taken to repress the shameful tyranny of the planters, the leading men in that island exclaimed against the 'villanous African Society,' calumniated the characters of Mr. Wilberforce and his friends, and denounced vengeance against the Methodist missionaries, whom they accused of instigating the negroes and mulattoes to disaffection and sedition. The charge was ill-founded; yet many persons of reputed respectability encouraged the white rabble of Bridge-town to insult and

harass the Methodists and their friends, and demolish their meeting-houses. Their chief preacher fled in consternation to the island of St. Vincent; those who remained at Barbadoes were not allowed to act as ministers, and no other missionaries were suffered to land. The parliament expressed its indignation at these outrages; but we do not find that any steps were taken for the punishment of the perpetrators. This forbearance excited strong animadversion, when contrasted with the cruel treatment of the slaves at Demerara, many of whom, for an unwillingness to work, and for some riotous acts, were sacrificed, under the forms of justice, to the vindictive rage of the planters.

The late appointment of several bishops for the West-Indies will, it is hoped, produce, by the influence of their examples and persuasions, a better spirit among the white population, and promote the conversion and enlightenment of the people of color and the negroes. But it is necessary, for the due accomplishment of these desirable purposes, that the new prelates should be more active and zealous than those of Europe.

In the United States of North-America, the episcopal appointments are still kept up, and the other religious communities and congregations are in that regular progress which proves that the nation is not ungodly, although the laws and government do not ordain or recognise, as in the European states, the superiority of a particular creed or mode of worship. Hence there is no occasion for the grant of *toleration*, as that term implies an allowance, by the ruling power, of such doctrines, ceremonies, and practices, as are not exactly consonant with the established system. As no community predominates over another, all are equal in the eye of the law; the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the Jews and Roman-catholics, the Moravians and Quakers, are perfectly on a level. Those who are styled Congregationalists form, we believe, the most numerous class: they agree with the presbyterians in doctrinal points, but differ in their discipline and the regulation of their meetings.

Among the more recent religious communities beyond

the Atlantic, the Shakers seem to have excited the greatest degree of attention. Having mentioned their origin and their doctrines on a former occasion, we now state some particulars respecting their manners and conduct. Even while they disallow marriage, and do not permit a man to touch a woman on any occasion or pretence, they are assembled in families. The males and females occupy different apartments in the same house, and have separate tables, but meet occasionally for society and labor, as well as for religious service. Children are sometimes seen among them; and, when the elders are questioned on that subject, they pretend that these young Shakers were born before their parents entered into the association. They exercise all the useful arts and manufactures among themselves, without being indebted to persons of other persuasions for the least assistance. As far as they conveniently can, they have every thing in common; and, when new members are admitted, they are required to assign their property to the directors of the society for the general benefit. They profess to follow the advice of the apostle, "Let all things be done decently and in "order." In one respect they appear to be disorderly; for, in the midst of their public worship, they sing and dance like maniacs: yet they have "method in their "madness." Upon the whole, they form a quiet, inoffensive, and apparently virtuous community.

Another sect (if indeed a religious party in a country which has no established national creed can properly be called a *sect*) has arisen in North-America; but it is little known, and not very prevalent. Mr. Rees, a Welsh clergyman, transported himself to America with the benevolent view of propagating Christianity in that form which he considered as the most pure and genuine, or rather in that way which would leave every one at liberty to follow his own opinion in points which were not essential, while he acknowleged Christ as his only head. He proposed that the society which should be instituted should be styled the Christian Church, and that no other guide than the New Testament should be allowed to its members; and a secondary part of his scheme was the pro-

pagation of the Gospel among the heathen communities. While he labored to make religious converts, he endeavoured, with equal zeal, to put an end to the existence of slavery in the United States; but he did not, either in this or in his other pursuit, meet with that success which his good intentions deserved.

Writers who have treated of the religious associations in North-America have mentioned the *Jerkers* and the *Barkers*. We know that there are *Jumpers* in Wales, notwithstanding the vicinity of English illumination;—we know that great absurdities, on pretence of religion, are practised in various countries, where the inhabitants are more than civilised;—yet we doubt whether the accounts of the Jerkers and Barkers ought to be admitted among the authentic memorials of ecclesiastical history.

It is affirmed that a considerable number of zealots, in the state of Kentucky, seceded from the Presbyterian church, and, in concert with many Methodists, held meetings in which various exercises were performed, indicative (as they thought) of religious fervor and genuine devotion [d]. At these meetings, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered; but this solemnity was degraded and profaned by ludicrous frivolity. The devotees vindicated their dancing by the practice of David; but their sudden fallings, rollings, jerkings, and other movements, could not so easily be defended, and still less could their barkings be excused. Many of these votaries of superstition were ashamed of their folly, and returned to a sober religious course, while others entered into the fraternity of Shakers, or attached themselves to more rational congregations.

Thus we have taken a cursory survey of the state of Christianity, both in the eastern and western hemispheres, and of its progress during the first quarter of the present century. Some progress it has unquestionably made, although its increase has not been so great as its zealous friends wished or expected. Its movements, depending on human agency, are necessarily slow; and,

[d] General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and other parts of the world, by David Benedict, A. M.

if no miracles should intervene, many ages may elapse before the majority of the pagan nations, of the Jewish tribes, and of the followers of the Arabian pseudo-prophet, shall be numbered among the votaries of that system which we conscientiously follow and earnestly recommend. In the mean time, let Christians preserve their faith unimpaired, and exhibit, to unbelievers, impressive examples of piety and virtue.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

ADVERTISEMENT,

BY DR. MACLAINE.

THE following tables have been compiled with much attention and pains from the best authors; and it is therefore hoped that they will be considered as an useful addition to Dr. Mosheim's work; and the more so, as they are not confined to the *persons* and *things* contained in it.

The dates, that are placed in the columns which contain the sovereign princes and popes, are designed to mark the year of their decease.

As several of the *ecclesiastical* and *theological Writers*, mentioned in these Tables, deserve a place also among *profane authors*, on account of their philosophical, literary, or historical productions; so their names will be repeated in the two distinct columns that contain the learned men of each century.

It is farther to be observed, that the Romish church, even long before the time of the Reformation, looked upon many persons as *heretics*, whom we, on our principles, cannot consider in the same light, and whose doctrines really tended to promote that reformation in which we glory. I have therefore, in many places, added the words *real* or *reputed* after *heretics*, rather than seem to submit, in this point, to the decisions of a superstitious church.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

CENTURY I.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics.*	*Remarkable Events.*	*Profane Authors.*
Roman emperors.	The succession of the first bishops of Rome is a matter full of intricacy and obscurity.—We shall herein follow the learned bishop Pearson.	The Evangelists and Apostles.	Dositheus.	The tax of Augustus Cæsar.	Titus Livius.
A.D.			Simon Magus.	The birth of Christ.	Germanicus.
Augustus 14		The three Apostolic Fathers, Clement, Barnabas, Hermas.	The Gnostics, Cerinthus, Hymenæus, Philetus, who together with Demas and Diotrephes, are rather to be considered as apostates than as heretics.	The offerings presented to Jesus Christ by the Wise Men from the East.	Gratius.
Tiberius 37				The Four Passovers celebrated by Christ.	Ovid.
Caligula 41				John the Baptist beheaded.	Hyginus.
Claudius 54				Christ's miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension.	Labeo.
Nero 68				The descent of the Holy Ghost.	Valerius Maximus.
Galba 69				St. Stephen, the first Martyr.	Phædrus.
Otho 69		Philo, the Jew.	The Nicolaitans.	The Conversion of St. Paul.	Verrius Flaccus.
Vitellius 70		Flavius Josephus.	Ebion.	Institution of *Agapæ*, or Feasts of Charity.	Strabo.
Vespasian 70		These are almost all the genuine ecclesiastical writers of the first century, whose works are now extant; for the supposed letter of Christ to Abgarus, the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Liturgies, that have (beside those which we esteem canonical) been attributed to the Apostles—as also the Epistles of Mary to Ignatius and others—the Acts of	The Nazarenes.	Baptism is administered by immersion.	Dionysius of Alexandria.
Titus 81	Linus.		N. B. The Ebionites and Nazarenes, though generally placed by the learned in the first century, yet belong more properly to the second.	Several Christian churches founded.	Seneca, the rhetor.
Domitian 96	Anacletus.			The first persecution under Nero.	Seneca, the philosopher and poet.
Nerva 98	Clement.			The oracles reduced to silence, a dubious, or rather a fabulous story.	Velleius Paterculus.
	Evaristus.			The destruction of Jerusalem.	Cremutius.
	Alexander.			The accounts of a dispute between	Isidore of Charax.
	The dates of the deaths of the Roman pontiffs are not the same in the accounts of chronologists. Petau, Fleury, Pearson, Marcel, Pfaff, Bower, Lenglet, and others, differ frequently in this respect; and their differences sometimes are considerable. For example, the death of				Celsus, the physician.
					Massurius Sabinus.
					Didymus of Alexandria.
					Cocceius Nerva.
					Philo the Jew.
					Pomponius Mela.
					Columella.
					Remmius Palæmon.
					Votienus.
					Servilius Marcus.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events.	Profane Authors.
	pope Anicetus is placed, by Petau and Lenglet, in the year 161, by Pearson and Pfaff in 162, by Fleury, Walch, and Bower, in 168. As it is impossible to reconcile these historians, and difficult often to decide which calculates best, we shall follow Pearson and Pfaff as the surest guides.	Pilate — the Epistles of Seneca to St. Paul, &c. must be considered as apocryphal and spurious. The works that bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, were forged in the fifth century.		St. Peter and Simon the magician at Rome, and of the erection of a statue to the latter in that city, seem idle fictions. The second persecution of the Christians under Domitian. St. John thrown into a caldron of boiling oil, a doubtful story. The adventures of Apollonius Tyaneus.	Annæus Cornutus. Lucan. Andromachus. Petronius. Persius. Epictetus. Dioscorides. Flavius Josephus. Silius Italicus. Valerius Flaccus. Pliny the Elder. Pliny the Younger. Asconius Pedianus. Plinius Valerianus. Juvenal. Martial. Statius. Frontinus. Quintilian. Dion Chrysostom. Tacitus. Phlegon. Apion. Trogus Pompeius. Athenodorus.

CENTURY II.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Roman Emperors. A. D.	Xystus or Sixtus 127	Ignatius of Antioch.	Nazarenes.	Third persecution under Trajan, mitigated by the intercession of Pliny, the Younger.	Arrian.
Trajan 117	Telesphorus 138	Polycarp.	Gnostics.		Aulus Gellius.
Adrian 138	Hyginus 150	Justin Martyr.	Cainites.		Plutarch.
Anton. Pius 161	Pius I. 153	Hegesippus.	Elxai.		Florus.
M. Antoninus 180	Anicetus 162	Theophilus of Antioch, the first who made use of the word Trinity to express	Saturninus.		Celsus, the Lawyer.
	Soter 172		The Millenarians.	Fourth persecution under Adrian.	Œnomaus
	Eleutherius 185		Basilides.		Philo of Phœnicia.
	Victor 196		Isidore, the Son.	Fifth Persecution under Antonines	Ptolemy, the

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
L. Verus Commodus 192 Pertinax 193 Did. Julianus 193 Niger 194 Albinus 197		press the distinction of what divines call persons in the God-head. The Christian church is very little obliged to him for his invention. The use of this and other unscriptural terms, to which men attach either no ideas, or false ones, has wounded charity and peace, without promoting truth and knowlege. It has produced heresies of the worst kind.— Melito. Tatian.* Papias. Claudius Apollinaris. Hermias. Athenagoras. Clemens Alexandrinus. Tertullian. Aquila. Theodotion. Symmachus. The unknown Author of the Sibylline Oracles. Irenæus. Polycrates. Dionysius of Corinth. Pantænus. Quadratus. Add to these several fragments of the writings of	Carpocrates and his followers. Marcellina and Epiphanes. Prodicus, the chief of the Adamites. Valentine and his followers. * Tatian supposed to be the chief of the Encratites, Hydroparastates, and Apotactics. Ptolomæus Secundus. Cerdo. Marcion. Florinus. The Docetæ, or Phantasiasts. The Melitonians. The Sacconphori. Severians. Ophites. Artotyrites. Theodotus, the Tanner, chief of the Alogi. Montanus. Tertullian. Priscilla and Maximilla, who were called Montanists, Cataphryges, and Pepusians. The Sethites and Abelites. Heracleon. Bassus. Colarbasus. Blastus. Mark. The Valentinians.	Pius, continued under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Conversion of the Germans and Gauls, and (if we may give credit to Bede) of the Britons. The Thundering Legion—a dubious event. Insurrections of the Jews against the Romans. Sedition and slaughter of that people under the standards of Barcocheba, the false Messiah. The Jews are driven from Jerusalem. Horrible calumnies thrown out against the Christians by Lucian, Crescens, Celsus, and the Pagans in general. The perusal of the Sibylline Oracles prohibited by an imperial edict. Christian assemblies are held on Sundays, and other stated days, in private houses, and in the burying-places of Martyrs. Infant baptism and sponsors used in this century. Various festivals and fasts established. A distinction formed between bishops and presbyters, who, with the deacons and readers, are the	astronomer and geographer. Salvius Julianius. Suetonius. Apollonius, the philosopher. Appian. Fronto. Maximus Tyrius. Taurus Calvisius. Apuleius. Artemidorus. Lucian. Numenes. Pausanias. Polyænus. Sextus Empiricus. Athenæus. Julius Pollux. Diogenes Laertius. Gallienus. Ammonius Saccas. Priscus, Cephalion. Aristides. Hermogenes, who at the age of seventeen published his Rhetoric; at twenty, his Book on Ideas; and, at twenty-five, is said to have forgotten all that he had learned. Justin Martyr. Theophilus of Antioch. Chrysorus. Marcus Antoninus. Harpocration. Athenagoras. Celsus the philosopher.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
		some of the principal heretics mentioned in the following column. These fragments are collected by Cotelerius, Grabe, &c.	Bardesanes. Hermogenes. Apelles. Praxeas, the chief of the Patropassians, Seleucus and Hermias. Artemon.	only orders of ecclesiastics known in this century. The sign of the cross and anointing used. The custom of praying towards the East introduced.	Julius Solinus. Plotinus. Papinian.

CENTURY III.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Roman Emperors.	Zephyrinus 219	The author of the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas.	Adelphius.	Sixth Persecution under Severus, in which Leonidas, Irenæus, Victor, bishop of Rome, Perpetua, Felicitas, and others, suffer martyrdom.	Ælius Maurus.
A. D.	Callistus 224	Minutius Felix.	Aquilinus.		Oppian, the Poet.
Severus 211	Urban 231	Hippolytus.	Manes, the chief of the Manicheans.		Quintus Seren.
Caracalla 217	Pontianus 235	Ammonius.	Hierax.		Sammonicus.
Geta 212	Anterus 236	Julius Africanus.	Noetus.		Julius Africanus.
Macrinus 218	Fabianus 251	Origen.	Sabellius.		Acolus.
Heliogabalus 222	Cornelius 254	Cyprian.	Beryllus.		Dio Cassius.
Severus Alexander 235	A contest between him and Novatian.	Novatian.	Paul of Samosata.	Seventh Persecution (after one under Maximin) under Decius, in which Fabianus, the Roman pontiff, Babylas, Alexander, and others, suffer martyrdom.	Ulpian.
Maximin 237	Lucius 256	Gregory Thaum.	Novatians.		Ephorus.
Gordian I.	Stephen 258	Dionysius of Alexandria.	Patropassians.		Censorinus.
II. 237	Sixtus II. 259	Pamphilus.	Arabians.		C. Curius Fortunatus.
Pupienus and Balbinus 238	Dionysius 270	Anatolius.	Cathari.		Herodian.
Gordian III. 244	Felix 275	Arnobius Africanus.	Valesians.		Nicagoras.
Philip the Arabian, supposed to have been the first Christian emperor 250	Eutychianus 283	Commodianus.	Privatus.		Amelius.
Decius 252	Caius Marcellinus 296	Archelaus.	A schism between Stephen and Cyprian, concerning the rebaptising of heretics.	Eighth Persecution under Valerian, in which those more illustrious martyrs, Cyprian, Lucius, Stephen I. Sixtus I. and Laurentius, suffer for the faith.	Gentilianus.
Gallus and Volusianus 253		Lucianus.			Erennius.
Æmilianus 253		Hesychius.			Dexippus.
Valerian 259		Methodius.			Cassius Longinus.
Gallienus 268		Theognostus.			Julius Capitolinus.
		Malchion.			Ælius Lampridius.
		Paul of Samosata.			Trebellius Pollio.
		Stephen, R. Pont.			Porphyry.
		Eusebius, a deacon of		Ninth Persecution under Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, and Maximin, much more	Ælius Spartianus.
					Flavius Vopiscus.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Claudius II. 270 Quintilius 270 Aurelian 275 Tacitus 275 Florianus 276 Probus 282 Carus 283 Carinus 284 Numerianus 284 Diocletian. Maximian.		Alexandria. Dionysius, R. Pont. Basilides, Bishop of Pentapolis. Victorinus. Prudentius.		cruel than the preceding, and famous for the martyrdom of the Theban Legion, which however is a very dubious story. The Jewish Talmud and Targum composed in this century. The Jews are allowed to return into Palestine. Jewish schools erected at Babylon, Sora, and other places. Remarkable deaths of those who persecuted the Christians, related by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Lucius Cæcilius. Many illustrious men, and Roman senators, converted to Christianity. The origin of the monastic life derived from the austere manners of Paul the Theban, the first hermit. Diocletian assumes the name and honors due to Jupiter, and orders the people to worship him. Religious rites are greatly multiplied in this century; altars used; wax tapers employed. Public churches, called in Greek Κυριακα, built for the celebration of divine worship. The Pagan mysteries injudiciously imitated in many	M. Aurel. Olymp. Nemesianus. Alexander, a Greek philosopher. Philostratus. Julius Paulus. Sextus Pomponius. Herennius. Modestinus. Hermogenianus. Palladius Rutilius. Taurus Æmilianus. Justin. Julius Calphurnius. Arnobius.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
				respects by Christians. The tasting of milk and honey, previous to baptism, introduced. The person is anointed before and after that holy rite—receives a crown, and goes arrayed in white for some time after. The story of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, and the martyrdom of Ursula, and the 11,000 British Virgins, the principal fables invented in this century.	

CENTURY IV.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Roman Emperors. A.D. Diocletian and Maximian abdicate the empire in the year 305 Galerius 311 Constantius 306 Constantine the Great 337 His adversaries, Maximin 313 Maxentius 312 Licinius 325 Constantine II. 338	Marcellinus 304 Marcellus 309 Eusebius 311 Melchiades 313 Sylvester 335 Mark 336 Julius 352 Liberius 367 A schism between Liberius and Felix. Damasus 384 A new schism between this pontiff and Ursinus. Siricius 398	Lactantius Firm. Lucius Cæcilius. Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea. Constantine the Great. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch. Commodianus. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria. Juvencus.	The Manichæans disguised under the denominations of Encratites, Apotactics, Saccophori, Hydroparastates, and Solitaries. Arius and his followers, who were divided into Eunomians, Semi-arians, Eusebians, Homoiousians, Acaci-	The Tenth Persecution continued. The Athanasians or Orthodox persecuted by Constantius, who was an Arian, and by Valens, who ordered 80 of their deputies, all ecclesiastics, to be put on board of a ship, to which fire was set as soon as it had cleared the coast. The Christians persecuted by Sapor. The supposed conversion of Con-	Ælius Donatus. Servius. Helladius. Andronicus Nonius. Marcellus. Sext. Aurelius Victor. Maximus of Smyrna, who is supposed to have taught the emperor Julian magic. Oribases. Eutropius. Libanius. Ausonius. Pappus, the famous ma-

Soverign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Constantius 361		Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.	ans, and Psathyrians.	stantine the Great, by a vision representing a fiery cross in the air.	thematician. Prudentius.
Constans 350		Antonius, who (with Paul the Hermit) was the first institutor of the monastic life.	Photinus, Apollinaris, Father and Son.	First General Council. It was held at Nice in 325.	Rufus Festus. Avienus. Themistius.
Julian, the Apostate 363		Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra.	Macedonius.	In it the opinions of Arius were condemned, and the popes declared merely equal in dignity to other Christian bishops.	Flavius Vegetius. Hierocles. Julian.
Jovian 364		Theodore, bishop of Heraclea.	The Anthropomorphites.	A second general council is held in the year 381, at Constantinople, in which the errors of Macedonius are condemned.	Ammianus Marcellinus. Symmachus.
Valentinian 375		Julius, bishop of Rome.	Priscillian.	Remarkable progress of the Christian religion among the Indians, Goths, Marcomanni, and Iberians.	Lactantius. Jamblichus.
Valens 378		Jul. Firm. Maternus.	Andæus.	The famous donation of Constantine in favor of the Roman see—a mere fable.	Ælius Lampridius.
Gratian 383		Pachomius.	The Messalians, or Euchites.	The miraculous defeat of Eugenius by Theodosius.	Eusebius of Cæsarea.
Valentinian II. 392		Eusebius, bishop of Emessa.	Collyridians.	Julian's attempt to invalidate the predictions of the prophets, by encouraging the Jews to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, defeated by an earthquake and fiery eruption. See the learned bp. Warburton's interesting and ingenious work, entitled *Julian*.	Jul. Firmicus Maternus. Chalcidius.
Theodosius the Great 395		Serapion.	Eustathians.		Pomponius.
The division of the Roman Empire into the Eastern and Western Empires.		Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem.	Coluthus.		Festus.
		Hilarius, bishop of Poictiers.	Helvidius.		Quintus Curtius.
The Visigoths settle in Gaul and Spain about the end of this century.		Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari.	Bonosus.		Macrobius.
Athanaric 382		Phœbadius, bishop of Agen.	Vigilantius.		
Alaric.		Eunomius.	Three schisms of the Meletians, Luciferians, and Donatists.		
		Zeno, bishop of Verona.			
		Titus, bishop of Bostra.			
		Damascus, bishop of Rome.			
		Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis.			
		Optatus, bishop of Milevi.			
		Pacianus.			
		Marius Victorinus.			
		Liberius, bishop of Rome.			
		Ephraim the Syrian.			
		Didymus of Alex.			

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.*	*Profane Authors.*
		Basil, bishop of Cæsarea. Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa. Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium. Hegesippus, Apollinaris, Father and Son. Eusebius, bishop of Vercell. Diodore, bishop of Tarsus. Proba Falconia. The three Macarii. Ambrose. Jerome. Ruffinus. Philastrius. Paulinus, bishop of Nola. Augustin. John Chrysostom.		the Thessalonians. The Eucharist was, during this century, administered in some places to infants and persons deceased. Something like the doctrine of Transubstantiation is maintained, and the ceremony of the elevation used in the celebration of the Eucharist. The council of Elvira in Spain, held in the year 305, not only solemnly forbids the adoration of pictures or images, but even prohibits the use of them. The use of incense and of the censer, with several other superstitious rites, introduced.—The churches are considered as externally holy, the saints are invoked, images used, and the Cross worshiped. The clerical order augmented by new ranks of ecclesiastics, such as archdeacons, country bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, exarchs, &c.	

CENTURY V.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the West.	Anastasius 402	Gaudentius, bishop of Bresse.	Vigilantius.	Foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, or rather by Clovis.	Anienus.
A.D.	Innocent 417	Sulpicius Severus.	Pelagius, Cœlestius, Julian, authors of what is called the Pelagian Heresy.	An earthquake swallows up several cities in Palestine.	Martianus Capella.
Honorius 423	Zosimus 418	Palladius.	John Cassian, Faustus, Gennadius, Vincent of Lerins, Semi-Pelagians.	A third General Council held at Ephesus, at which Nestorius was deposed, in the year 431.	Claudian.
Valentinian III. 455	Boniface I. 423	Heraclides.	Nestorius, Theodoret, Theodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsus, Nestorians.	A fourth General Council held at Chalcedon against Eutyches in the year 451.	Eunapius.
Maximus 455	A schism between this pope and Eulalius.	Innocentius.	Eutyches. Dioscorus. The Acephali. —Monophysites. —Jacobites. —Armenians. —Theopaschites. —Predestinarians. —Cœlicolæ. Peter, the Fuller. Xenaias.	Progress of Christianity among the Franks and Germans.	Macrobius.
Avitus 456	Celestine I. 432	Polybius.		The conversion of the Irish to the Christian faith attempted in vain by Palladius, but effected by St. Patrick, whose original name was Succathus, who arrived in Ireland in the year 432.	Olympiodorus.
Majorianus 461	Sixtus III. 440	Pelagius.		Terrible persecutions carried on against the Christians in Britain, by the Picts, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons,—in Spain, Gaul, and Africa, by the Vandals —in Italy and Pannonia, by the Visigoths—in Africa, by the Donatists and Circumcellians—in Persia, by Isde-	Orosius.
Severus 465	Leo the Great 461	Cœlestius.			Peutinger.
Anthemius 472	Hilarius 467	Theodore, bishop of Mopsuesta.			Rutilius Claudius.
Olybrius 472	Simplicius 483	Polychronius.			Numantianus.
Glycerius deposed in 474	Felix III. 492	Nonnus.			Servius Honoratus.
Julius Nepos deposed in 475	Gelasius 496	Synesius.			Sidonius Apollinaris.
Romulus Augustulus, who reigned till the 23d of August, when Odoacer took the title of king of Italy, and put an end to the western empire.	Anastasius II. 498	Isidore of Pelusium.			Candidus, the Isaurian.
	Symmachus I.	Cyril of Alexandria.			Zosimus, the historian.
	A schism between him and Laurentius.	Orosius.			Idacius.
		Marius Mercator.			Quintus, or Cointus.
Kings of Italy.		Maximus, bishop of Turin.			Priscus.
Odoacer 493		Theodoret.			Musæus.
Theodoric.		Cassian.			Proclus.
		Peter Chrysologus.			Simplicius.
Emperors of the East.		Hilarius.			
Arcadius 408		Philostorgius.			
Theodosius II. 450		Vincent of Lerins.			
Marcianus 457		Socrates.			
Leo I. 474		Sozomenes.			
Leo II. 474		Leo the Great.			
Zeno Isaur. 491		Prosper.			
Anastasius.		Idacius.			
		Basil.			
Gothic Kings of Spain.		Seleucus.			
Alaric 411		Arnobius the Younger.			
Ataulphus 415		Claudian Mamertus.			
Sigeric 415		Faustus.			
		Felix, the Roman pontiff.			
		Vigilius Tapsensis, sup-			

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Vallia 420 Theodoric 451 Thorismond 452 Theodoric II. 466 Euric 484 Alaric II.		posed by some learned men to have been the author of what is commonly called the Athanasian Creed. Victor the African. Gennadius. Zosimus. Prosper. Sidonius Apollinar. Æneas Gaza.		gerdes — beside the particular persecutions carried on alternately against the Arians and Athanasians. The extinction of the western empire. The Theodosian Code drawn up. The city of Venice founded by the inhabitants of the adjacent coast, who fled from the incursions of the Barbarians. Felix III. bishop of Rome (whom Bower and others look upon as the second pope of that name) is excommunicated, and his name struck out of the diptychs, or sacred registers, by Acacius, bishop of Constantinople. Many ridiculous fables are invented during this century; such as the story of the phial of oil, brought from heaven by a pigeon at the baptism of Clovis—the vision of Attila, &c.	
Kings of France. Pharamond, first king, 420 Clodion 451 Meroveus 456 Childeric 481 Clovis I.					
The Kings of the Vandals in Africa, where they settled in the year 429 Genseric 466 Huneric 484 Gontamond 496 Thrasamond.					
Kings of England. Vortigern. Kingdom of Kent founded by Hengist the Saxon, in 457, and that of Sussex by Ælla, in 499.					

CENTURY VI.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics.*	*Remarkable Events.*	*Learned Men, Historians, Philosophers, and Poets.*
Kings of Italy A. D.	Symmachus 514	Cæsarius, bishop of Arles.	Deuterius.	Several nations converted to Christianity.	Justinian Boëthius.
Theodoric 526	Hormisdas 523	Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspa.	Severus, leader of the Acephali.	The canon of the mass established by Gregory the Great.	Trebonian.
Athalaric 534	John I. 526	Boëthius.	Themistius, chief of the Agnoites, who maintained that Christ was ignorant of the day of judgement.	The Benedictine Order founded.	Agathias, who continued the history composed by Procopius.
Amalasuntha 534	Felix IV. 529	Timothy of Constantinople.	Barsanians, or Semi-dulites, who maintained that Christ had suffered only in appearance.	Forty Benedictine monks, with Augustine at their head, are sent into Britain by Gregory the Great, in the year 596; who convert Ethelbert, king of Kent, to the Christian faith.	Jornandes.
Theodatus 536	Boniface II. 531	Ennodius.	Jacob Zanzale, the chief of the Jacobites, or Monophysites.	The Ostrogothic kingdom is destroyed by Justinian, who becomes master of Italy.	Gregory of Tours.
Vitiges 540	A schism between Boniface and Dioscorus.	Severus.	John Philoponus, the chief of the Trithetes.	The Lombards invade Italy in the year 568, and erect a new kingdom at Ticinum.	Marius, bishop of Avranches, an eminent historian.
Idebald 541	John II. 535	Cassiodorus.	Damianists.	The Christians are persecuted in several places.	Menander, the historian.
Totila 553	Agapetus I. 536	Procopius.	Origenists.	The orthodox are oppressed by the emperor Anastasius, Thrasamond, king of the Vandals, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, &c.	Stephen of Byzantium.
Teias 554	Sylverius 540	Peter, the deacon.	Corrupticolæ.	Female convents are greatly multiplied in this century.	Magn. Aurelius Cassiodorus.
Emperors of the East.	A schism between Sylverius and Vigilius.	Maxentius, a Scythian monk.	Acœmetæ.	Litanies introduced into the church of France.	Dionysius the Little.
Anastasius 818	Vigilius 555	Dionysius, the Little.	The Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Pelagians, continued to raise troubles in the church.		
Justin I. 527	Pelagius I. 558	Fulgentius Ferrandus.			
Justinian 565	John III. 572	Marcellinus.			
Justin II. 578	Benedict I. 577	Zachary, the schoolman.			
Tiberius II. 586	Pelagius II. 590	Hesychius.			
Mauritius.	Gregory I.	Facundus Hermian.			
Gothic Kings of Spain.		Pope Vigilius.			
Alaric 507		Rusticus, a Roman deacon.			
Gesalric 512		Junilius.			
Amalaric 531		Victor of Capua.			
Theudis 548		Primasius.			
Theodegesil 548		Jornandes.			
Agila 552		Liberatus.			
Athanagilda 567		Victor, the African.			
Leuva 568		Venantius Fortunatus.			
Leuvigild 585		Anastasius of Mount Sinai, afterwards bishop of Antioch.			
Recared.		John the schoolman.			
These princes were masters also of Narbonne and Aquitaine.		Cosmas.			
Kings of England.					
The third Saxon kingdom is founded in England by Cerdic, in					

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics.*	*Remarkable Events.*	*Learned Men, Historians, Philosophers, and Poets.*
519, and is called the kingdom of the West Saxons. The fourth, or that of the East Saxons, by Erchenwin in 527 The fifth, that of Northumberland, by Ida, in 547 The sixth, that of the East Angles by Uffa, in 573 The seventh, that of Mercia, by Crida, in 585 Thus was successively formed the Saxon Heptarchy.		Gildas. Leander. John of Constantinople. Columbanus. Leontius Byzant. Leontius of Cyprus. Gregory the Great. Isidore of Seville. Lucius Carinus. Proclus Diadochus.		The Arians are driven out. Superstition of the Stylites introduced by Simeon, the head of that crazy sect, who spent his life on the top of a pillar, and foolishly imagined, that he would, by this trick, render himself agreeable to the Deity. The Romish writers say, he chose this lofty habitation (for the pillar was 36 cubits high) to avoid the multitude which crowded about him to see his miracles. The Christian æra is formed in this century by Dionysius the Little, who first began to reckon the course of time from the birth of Christ. The Justinian code, Pandect, Institutions, and Novels, collected and formed into a body. Antioch, that was destroyed by an earthquake, is rebuilt by Justinian. The fifth general council assembled at Constantinople in the year 553, under Justinian I. in which the Origenists and the Three Chapters were condemned.	
Kings of France. Clovis I 511 The kingdom is divided among his four sons, viz. Thierry, Metz 534 Clodomir, Orleans 534 Childebert, Paris 558 Clotaire, Soissons 562 A second division of the kingdom among the four sons of Clotaire I. viz. Cherebert, Paris 566 Gontran, Orleans 593 Chilperic, Soissons 584					

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events, &c.*	*Learned Men, Historians, Philosophers, and Poets.*
Sigebert, Metz. 575					
Kings of the Vandals in Africa.					
Thrasamond 523					
Hilderic 530					
Gilimer, defeated and taken prisoner by Belisarius, in the year 534					
By this event Africa became again subject to the Emperors of the East.					
Kings of the Lombards, who entered Italy in the year 568					
Alboinus 571					
Clephis 573					
Antharis 590					
Agilulph					
Exarchs of Ravenna.					
Longinus 583					
Smaragdus 588					
Romanus 598					
Callinicus					

CENTURY VII.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the East.	Gregory I. 604	Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury, was nominated to that	John Philoponus. John Malela. Hesychius of Jerusalem.	The ancient heresies were still in vigor during this century; to	An extraordinary progress is made in the conversion of the English. The archbishop-	The author of the Alexandrian Chronicle. Isidore of Seville, who,
A. D.	Sabinianus 605					
Mauritius 602	Boniface III. 606					

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events.*	*Profane Authors.*
Phocas 610	Boniface IV.	high office	Theophylact.	these were	rics of London	beside his
Heraclius 641	614	in the year	Simocatta.	added the	and York are	theological
Constantine III. 641	Deodatus 617	597 by Gregory the	Antiochus.	sects of the	founded, with	productions, com-
Heraclianus 642	Boniface V.	Great, bishop of	Modestus.	Paulicians	12 bishoprics	posed a
Constans II.	625	Rome, with	Cyrus of	and Mono-	under the juris-	History of
668	Honorius I.	the consent	Alexand.	thelites.	diction of each.	the Goths
Constantine IV. 685	638	of Ethelbert, king of	Jonas.		The archbishopric of London	and Vandals, and a
Leontius 698	Severinus I.	Kent: he	Gallus.		is translated to	work entitled Ety-
Tiberius III.	639	died in the	John Moschus.		Canterbury.	mologicon
703	John IV.	year 611,	Andreas		The Gospel is	Scientiarum, in
Justinian II.	641	or, as some	Damascenus.		propagated	which he
	Theodore I.	say, in 605.	George Pisides.		with success in	gives an account of the
Kings of the Goths in Spain.	648	Laurence 619	Eligius.		Holland, Friseland and Germany.	origin and
Victeric.	Martin I. 655	Mellitus 624	The two		The schism, between the	nature of
Gondemar.	Eugenius I.	Justus 634	Theodores.		Greek and Latin churches,	the different sciences.
Sisebut 621	656	Honorius 653	Paulus.		commences in	In this century commenced
Recared II.	Vitalianus	Adeodatus	The emp.		this century.	that long
621	671	664	Heraclius.		The rise of Mohammed, and	period of
Suinthila 631	Adeodatus	Theodore	Maximus		the rapid progress of his religion, which is	ignorance and darkness, which
Sizenand 636	676	690	Conf.		propagated by	remained
Chintila 640	Domnus 678	Brithwald	Theodore the		fire and sword.	until the
Tulga 642	Agatho I.		monk.		The Mohammedan æra, called the Hegira,	light of the
Chindasuinthe 649	682		The emp.		commences	Reformation arose.
Recesuinthe 672	Leo II. 684		Constans II.		with the year of	
Vamba 680	Benedict II.		Martin, bishop of		Christ 622.	
Ervige 687	685		Rome.		The destruction	
Egica.	John V. 686		Maurus of		of the Persian	
	Conon 687		Ravenna.		monarchy under the reign of	
Kings of France.	Sergius I. 701		Anastasius a		Isdegerdes III.	
Clotaire II.	A schism occasioned by		monk — a		Boniface IV. receives from that	
628	the pretensions of		Rom. presb.		odious tyrant	
Dagobert 638	Theodore		Fructuosus.		Phocas (who	
Sigebert II.	and Paschal.		Peter, metropolitan of		was the great	
654			Nicomedia.		patron of the	
Clovis 660			Julian Pomerius.		popes and the	
Clotaire III.			Agatho.		chief promoter of	
668			John of		their grandeur)	
Childeric II.			Thessalonica.		the famous Pantheon, which is	
673			Cresconius.		converted into	
Dagobert II.			Ildefonsus.		a church. Here	
679			Marculph.		Cybele was	
Theodoric			John Climachus.		succeeded by	
690			Fortunatus		the Virgin	
Clovis III. 695			Venant.		Mary, and the	
Childebert III.			Isidore of Seville, who			
The race of the weak						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events.*	*Profane Authors.*
kings begins with Theodoric III. and ends with Childeric III.			composed Commentaries on the Historical Books of the Old Testament, and is acknowleged to have been the principal author of the famous Mosarabic Liturgy, which is the ancient Liturgy of Spain. Dorotheus. Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem.		Pagan deities by Christian martyrs. Idolatry still subsisted; but the objects of it were changed. Ina, king of the West Saxons, resigns his crown, and assumes the monastic habit in a convent at Rome. During the Heptarchy, many Saxon kings took the same religious turn. Pope Agatho discontinued the payment of the tribute which the see of Rome had been accustomed to pay the emperor at the election of its pontiff. The Sixth General council is held at Constantinople, under Constantine Pogonatus, against the Monothelites, in the year 680. The Seventh, which is looked upon by some as a kind of supplement to this, was held in the Trullus, under Justinian II. in the year 692, and is called Quinisextum.	
England. The Heptarchy.						
Kings of the Lombards in Italy. Agilulph 616 Adaloaldus 626 Ariovaldus 638 Rotharis 653 Rodoald 656 Aripert 662 Gondipert 662 Grimoald 673 Garibald 673 Bertharit 689 Cunipert 706						
Exarchs of Ravenna. Smaragdus 610 John 615 Eleutherius 617 Isaac 648 Theodore Calliopa 649 Olympius 650 Theodore Calliopa II. 686 Theodore 687 John Plato 702						

CENTURY VIII.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the East.	John VI. 705	Brithwald 731	Venerable Bede.	The Eutychians, Monothelites, and Jacobites, continue to propagate their doctrines.	Rapid progress of the Saracens in Asia and Africa.	Alcuin — see the fourth column.
A.D	John VII. 707	Tatwin 734	John Damascenus.	The Paulo-Johannists, who were so called from their leaders Paul and John, and embraced the pernicious errors of Valentine and Manes.	The subversion of the kingdom of the Lombards and of the exarchate of Ravenna, the latter of which is granted to the see of Rome, by Pepin, king of France. Charlemagne adds to the grant of Pepin several provinces, though the titles and acts of this grant have not been produced by the Roman Catholic historians.	Bede.
Justinian II. 711	Sisinnius 708	Nothelm 741	The anonymous author of a book entitled, Ordo Romanus de Divinis Officiis, published in the Bibl. Patr.	The Agonoclites, a wrong-headed set of people, who prayed dancing.	The ceremony of kissing the pope's toe introduced.	Fredegarius.
Philippicus 713	Constantine 714	Cuthbert 758	Charlemagne: see the Capitularia, published by Baluze at Paris, in 1677, and the Codex Carolinus, published at Ingolstadt, in 1634, by Gretzer.	Adelbert.	The Saxons, with Witekind, their monarch, converted to Christianity.	John Damascenus.
Anastasius II. 714	Gregory II. 731	Bregwin 762	Ambrosius Authpertus.	Felix, bishop of Urgel.	The Christians persecuted by the Saracens, who massacre five hundred monks in the abbey of Lerins.	George Syncellus.
Theodosius III. 716	Gregory III. 741	Lambert 790	The popes Gregory I. Gregory II. and Adrian.	Elipand, bishop of Toledo.		Virgilius.
Leo III. Isaur. 741	Zachary 752	Athelard.	Paul the Lombard.	Leo, the Isaurian, who destroyed the images in the churches, and was the chief of the Iconoclastes; and Clement, who preferred the decisions of Scripture to		
Constantine V. Copron. 775	Stephen II. 752		Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia.			
Leo IV. 780	Stephen III. 757		Alcuin, a native of England, and one of the principal instruments employed by Charlemagne for the resto-			
Constantine VI. Porphyr. 797	Paul 767					
Irene.	A schism between Paul and Theophylact.					
	Stephen IV. 772					
Kings of the Visigoths in Spain.	A schism between Constantine, Philip, and Stephen IV.					
Egica 701	Adrian 795					
Vitiza 710	Leo III.					
Roderic, the last king of the Goths 713						
Kings of Leon and the Asturias.						
Pelagius 737						
Favila 739						
Alphonso 757						
Froila 768						
Aurelio 774						
Silo 783						
Mauregato 789						
Veremond 791						
Alphonso II.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Kings of France. Childebert III. 711 Dagobert III. 715 Chilperic II. 720 Theodoric IV. 736 Interregnum, from the year 737 to 743, during which time Carloman and Pepin, sons of Charles Martel, govern without the regal title. Childeric III. dethroned in 750 The last king of the first race. *Second race.* Pepin 768 Charlemagne.			ration of learning. He is considered by M. Du-Pin as the person that first introduced polite literature into France; and it is to him that the universities of Paris, Tours, Soissons, &c. owe their origin. Felix, archbishop of Ravenna. Germanus, bishop of Constantinople. The unknown author of a book entitled, Liber Diurnus Pontificum Romanorum. Egbert archbishop of York. Bartholomew, a monk of Edessa, who refuted the koran. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, commonly called the Apostle of Germany. Anastasius, abbot in Palestine. Theophanes. Aldhelm,	the decrees of councils; are reputed heretics by the church of Rome. Virgilius was also accused of heresy, by pope Zachary, because he was a good mathematician, and believed the existence of Antipodes. Those who promoted the worship of images and relics in this century, deserve much more justly the denomination of Heretics.	The Saracens take possession of Spain. Controversy between the Greek and Latin churches, concerning the Holy Ghost's proceeding from the Son. The Germans converted by Boniface. The Gospel propagated in Hyrcania and Tartary. The right of election to the see of Rome conferred upon Charlemagne and his successors by pope Adrian, in a council of bishops assembled at Rome. The worship of images authorised by the second council of Nice, in the year 787, which is improperly called the seventh general council. The reading of the epistles and gospels introduced into the service of the church. Solitary or private masses instituted. Churches built in honor of saints. Masses for the dead. Willebrod sent	
England. The Heptarchy.						
Kings of the Lombards in Italy. Luitpert 704 Ragombert 704 Aripert 712 Ansprand 712 Luitprand 744 Rachis 750 Aistulphus 756 Desiderius 773 The kingdom						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
of the Lombards, which subsisted during the space of 206 years, was overturned by Charlemagne, who, having defeated Desiderius, caused himself to be crowned king of the Lombards, in the year 774.			bishop of Sherborne, under the heptarchy, and nephew to Ina, king of the West Saxons.		to convert the Frisons; he was the first bishop of Utrecht.	
Exarchs of Ravenna. Theophylact 710 Jo. Procopius 712 Paul 729 Eutychius 752 The Exarchate subsisted during the space of 185 years. It ended in the reign of Aistulphus, king of the Lombards, who reduced Ravenna, and added it to his dominions. But this prince was obliged by Pepin, king of France, to surrender the Exarchate, with all its territories, castles, &c. to						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
be for ever held by Stephen III. and his successors in the see of Rome. This is the true foundation of the temporal grandeur of the popes.						

CENTURY IX.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the East. A.D. Irene 802 Nicephorus 811 Stauratius 811 Michael Curopolites 813 Leo Armen. 820 Michael Balb. 829 Theophilus 842 Michael III. 867 Basil I. Macedo 886 Leo VI. Philos. *Emperors of the West.* The Western Empire was restored in	Leo III. 816 Stephen V. 817 Paschal I. 824 Eugenius II. 827 A schism between Eugenius II. and Zizinnus. Valentine 827 Gregory IV. 844 Sergius II. 847 Leo IV. 855 Pope Joan Bened. III. 858 A schism between Benedict and Anastasius.	Athelard 806 Wulfred 830 Theogild 830 Celnoth 871 Ethelred 889 Plegmund.	Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople. Amalarius, bishop of Treves. Theodore Studita. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons. Eginhard. Claudius. Clement, bishop of Turin. Jonas, bishop of Orleans. Freculph, bishop of Lysieux. Moses Barcepha. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople. Theod.	Paulicians, a branch of the Manicheans. Iconoclastes. Iconolatræ, or image-worshippers. Prædestinarians. Adoptians. Transubstantiarians. Clement, bishop of Turin, who followed the sentiments of Felix of Urgel.	The conversion of the Swedes, Danes, Saxons, Huns, Bohemians, Moravians, Sclavonians, Russians, Indians, and Bulgarians: by the last a controversy is occasioned between the Greek and Latin churches. The rise of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass. The cause of Christianity suffers in the east under the Saracens, and in Europe under the Normans. The power of the pope increases; that of the bishops di-	Photius. Smaragdud. Eginhard. Rabanus Maurus. Abbon. Herempert. Leon. Sergius. Methodius. Walafridus Strabo. John Scot Erigena. Alfred the Great, king of England. His Saxon version of Orosius was never published. Abou-Nabas, an Arabian poet. The khalif al-Mamoun, an eminent mathemati-

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
the year 800, in favor of Charlemagne, who died in 814	Nicolas I. 867		Abucara.		minishes; and the emperors are divested of their ecclesiastical authority.	cian and astronomer.
Louis, the Debonnaire 840	Adrian II. 872		Petrus Siculus.		The Decretals are forged, by which the popes extended the limits of their jurisdiction and authority.	N. B. Haroun, the father of this prince, sent to Charlemagne a striking clock, with springs and wheels, which was the first ever seen in France, and shows that, at this period, the arts were more cultivated in Asia than in Europe.
Lothaire 855	John VIII. 882		Nicetas David.			
Louis II. 875	Marimus I. 884		Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz.			
Charles II. surnamed the Bald 877	Adrian III. 885		Hilduin.		The fictitious relics of St. Mark, St. James, and St. Bartholomew, are imposed upon the credulity of the people.	
Louis III. 879	Formosus 897		Servatus Lupus.			
Carloman 880	A schism between him and Sergius.		Drepanius Florus.			
Charles III. deposed 887	Boniface VI. 897		Druthmar.			
After the death of this prince, (who was the last king of France that was emperor) Germany and Italy were entirely separated from the French monarchy.	Stephen VII. 901		Godeschalcus.		Monks and abbots now first employed in civil affairs, and called to the courts of princes.	Albategni, the mathematician.
Arnolph 899	A schism between Stephen VII. John IX. Romanus I. and II. and Theodore II.		Paschasius Radbert, the chief of the Transubstantiarians.		The festival of All-Saints is added, in this century, to the Latin calendar by Gregory IV. though some authors of note place this institution in the seventh century, and attribute it to Boniface IV.	Albumasar, or Abou-Mashar, the Arabian astronomer.
Louis IV.			Bertram or Ratram of Corby, who refuted the monstrous errors of Radbert, and was at the head of those who denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist.			
Kings of Spain, i. e. of Leon and the Asturias.			Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt.		The superstitious festival of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, instituted by the council of Mentz, and confirmed by pope Nicolas I. and afterwards by Leo X.	
Alphonso the Chaste 824			Walafridus Strabo.			
Ramiro 851			Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims.			
Ordogno 862			John Scot Erigena.			
Alphonso III.			Ansegisus.			
Kings of France.			Florus, the deacon.		The trial by cold water introduced by pope Eugenius II. though Le Brun,	
Charlemagne 814			Prudens, bishop of Troyes.			
			Remy of Lyons.			

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Louis the Debonnaire 840 Charles the Bald 877 Louis III. 879 Carloman 884 Charles III. 888 Eudes 889 Charles the Simple.			Nicolas. Adrian. John VIII. Pope. Anastasius, Bibl. Auxilius. Theodulph, bishop of Orleans. Smaragdus. Aldric, bishop of Mans. Ado of Vienna. Isidore Mercator, author of the False Decretals. Jesse, bishop of Amiens. Dungale. Halitgaire, bishop of Cambray. Amulo, archbishop of Lyons. Vandalbert. Angelome. Epiphanes, archbishop of Constantia, in the island of Cyprus. Regino. Abbo. William, the librarian. Pope Formosus. Pope Stephen. Methodius, who invented the Sclavonian characters, and made a translation of the Bible for the Bulgarians,		in his Histoire des Pratiques Superstitieuses, endeavours to prove this ridiculous invention more ancient. The emperor Louis II. is obliged by the arrogant pontiff Nicolas I. to perform the functions of a groom, and hold the bridle of this pope's horse, while his pretended holiness was dismounting. The first Legends or Lives of the Saints appear in this century. The Apostles' Creed is sung in the churches.—Organs, bells, and vocal music, are introduced in many places.—Festivals multiplied. The order of St. Andrew, or the Knights of the Thistle in Scotland. Michael I. emperor of the East, abdicates the throne, and retires into a monastery, with his wife and six children. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicates the pope. The canonization of saints introduced by Pope Leo II.	
Kings of England. The Heptarchy finished by the union of the seven kingdoms under the government of Egbert. Egbert 836 Ethelwolf 857 Ethelbald 850 Ethelbert 866 Ethelred I. 871 Alfred the Great 901						
Kings of Scotland. The history of Scotland is divided into four great periods. The first, which commences with Fergus I. 330 years before Christ, and contains a series of 68 kings, ending with Al-						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
pinus, in the year 823, is looked upon as entirely fabulous. We shall therefore begin this chronological list with the second period, which commences with Kenneth II.			which was used by the Russians.		The university of Oxford founded by Alfred.	
Kenneth II. 854			Alfred the Great, king of England, composed a Saxon Paraphrase on the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, a Saxon Version of Orosius, and a Saxon Psalter.		The sciences are cultivated among the Saracens, and particularly encouraged by the khalif Al-Mamoun.	
Donald V. 858						
Constantine II. 874						
Ethus 875						
Gregory 893						
Donald VI.						
Kings of Sweden.						
The origin of this kingdom is covered with uncertainty and fables.						
Some historians reckon 36 kings before Biorno III., but it is with this prince that chronologers generally begin their series.						
Biorno III. 824						
Brantamond 827						
Sivard 842						
Heroth 856						
Charles VI. 868						
Biorno IV. 883						
Ingo, or Ingeld 891						
					Theophilus, from his abhorrence of images, banishes the painters out of the Eastern Empire.	
			The emperor Basil Maced.			
			The emperor Leo, surnamed the Wise.			
					Harold, king of Denmark, is dethroned by his subjects, on account of his attachment to Christianity.	
					The university of Paris founded.	

CENTURY X.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the East. A. D.	John IX. 905	Plegmund 917	Simeon Metaphrastes.	No new heresies were invented during this century. That of the Anthropomorphites was revived, and the greatest part of the others were continued. Thus we find Nestorians, Eutychians, Paulicians, Armenians, Anthropomorphites, and Manichæans, making a noise in this century.	Irruption of the Huns into Germany, and of the Normans into France. The Danes invade England. The Moors enter Spain. The Hungarians, and several northern nations, are converted to Christianity. The pirate Rollo is made duke of Normandy, and embraces the Christian faith. The Polanders are converted to Christianity under Micislaus, in the year 965 The Christian religion is established in Moscovy, Denmark, and Norway. The plan of the holy war is formed in this century, by pope Sylvester II. The baptism of bells; the festival in remembrance of departed souls; the institution of the Rosary; and a multitude of superstitious rites, shocking to common sense, and an insult upon true religion, are in-	This century, by way of eminence, is styled the age of barbarism and ignorance. The greatest part of the ecclesiastical and theological authors mentioned in the column were mean, ignorant, and trivial writers, and wrote upon mean and trivial subjects. At the head of the learned men of this age we must place Gerbert, otherwise known by the papal denomination of Sylvester II. This learned pontiff endeavoured to revive the drooping sciences; and the effects of his zeal were visible in this, but still more in the following century. Suidas,
Leo, the philosopher 911	A schism between John IX. and Sergius.	Athelm 924	Leontius of Byzantium.			
Alexander 912	Benedict IV. 906	Wolfhelm 934	Odo of Clugni.			
Constantine VII. surnamed Porphyrogenitus 959	Leo V. 906	Odo 959	Ratherius, bishop of Verona and Liege.			
Romanus Lecapenus took advantage of the youth of this prince, and seised the imperial throne, but was deposed by his son Stephen, and died in 948	A schism between Leo V. and Christopher.	Dunstan 988	Hippolytus, the Theban.			
	Christopher 907	Ethelgar 989	Odo, archbishop of Canterbury.			
	A schism between Christopher and Sergius.	Siricius 994	Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria.			
	Sergius III. 910	Aluric, or Alfric.	Said, patriarch of Alexandria.			
	Anastasius III. 912		Flodoard.			
	Lando 913		Joseph Genesius Atto, bishop of Verceil.			
	John X. 928		Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury.			
	Leo VI. 929		Luitprand, abbot of Fleury.			
	Stephen VIII. 931		Notger, bishop of Liege.			
	John XI. 936		Suidas.			
	Leo VII. 939		Roswida, a poetess.			
	Stephen IX. 943		Edgar, king of England.			
	Marinus II. 946		Ælfridus.			
	Agapetus II. 955		Heriger.			
Nicephorus Phoc. 970	John XII. 964		Olympiodorus.			
John Zimisces 975	A schism between John XII. and Leo.		Œcumenius.			
Basil III.	Leo VIII. 964		Odilo.			
Constantine VIII.	Benedict V. 965		Burchard.			
Emperors of the West.	John XIII. 972		Valerius of Astorga in			
Louis IV. 912	Domnus II. 972					
Conrad I. 919	Benedict VI. 975					
Henry I. surnamed the Fowler 936						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Otho I. 973 Otho II. 983 Otho III.	Boniface VII. 984 Benedict VII. 984 John XIV. 985 John XV. 985 John XVI. 996 Gregory V. 999 A schism between John and Gregory V. Sylvester II.		Spain. His Lives of the Fathers, very different from those that are published, are still in MS. in the library of Toledo. John Malela. Constantine Porphyrogenitus. John of Capua. Nicholas, patriarch of Constantinople. Gregory of Cæsarea. Epiphanes. Severus. Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury. Pope Gerbert. Oswald. Sisinnius. Hubald. Luitprand.		troduced in this century. Fire-ordeal introduced. The Turks and Saracens united. The Danish war continues to convulse England. Feudal tenures begin to take place in France. The influence and power of the monks increase greatly in England. The kingdom of Italy is united by Otho to the German empire. Pope Boniface VII. is deposed and banished for his crimes. Arithmetical figures are brought from Arabia into Europe by the Saracens. The empire of Germany is rendered elective by Otho III.	Geber, an Arabian chemist, celebrated by the learned Boerhaave. Constantine Porphyrogen. Mohammed Ebn Jaber Al-Batani, an Arabian astronomer. Razi, a celebrated Arabian chemist and physician. Leontius, one of the Byzantine historians. Joseph Genesius.
Kings of Spain, i. e. Leon and Asturias. Alphonso III. surnamed the Great, abdicates the crown in the year 910 Garcias 913 Ordogno II. 923 Froila II. 924 Alphonso IV. 931 Ramiro II. 950 Ordogno III. 955 Ordogno IV. 956 Sanchez the Fat 967 Ramiro III. 982 Bermudo, called, by some, Veremond II. 999 Alphonso V.						
Kings of France. Charles the Simple 929 Ralph usurps the throne. Louis d'Outremer 954 Lothaire II. 986 Louis the Idler, the last king of the line of						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Charlemagne 987						
Third Race. Hugh Capet 996						
Robert.						
Kings of England.						
Edward 925						
Athelstan 941						
Edmund 946						
Edred 955						
Edwy 959						
Edgar 975						
Edward the Martyr 979						
Ethelred II.						
Kings of Scotland.						
Donald VI. 903						
Constantine III. 943						
Malcolm I. 958						
Indulf 967						
Duff 972						
Cullen 976						
Kenneth III. 994						
Constantine IV. 995						
Grime.						
Kings of Sweden.						
Ingeld II. 907						
Eric VI. 926						
Eric VII. 940						
Eric VIII. 980						
Olaus II. the Tributary.						
The beginnings of the Danish monarchy are so fabulous, that we shall						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
begin with Harold, who died in 980 Sweyn.						
Poland. Micislaus, the first Christian duke, dies 999						

CENTURY XI.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the East.	Sylvester II. 1003	Aluric or Alfric 1006	Dithmar, bishop of Mersburg.	Berenger, famous for his opposition to the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation.	The Crusades are carried on with all the enormities that usually attend a blind, extravagant, and inhuman zeal.	Leo, the Grammarian.
A. D.	John XVII. 1003	Elphegus, massacred by the Danes in 1012	Leo the Grammarian.	Roscelin, a Tritheite.	Godfrey of Bouillon takes possession of Jerusalem in the year 1099.	Adelbord.
Basil III. 1025	John XVIII. 1009	Livingus 1020	Aimon.	A sect of French Manichæans, condemned in the council of Orleans.	A contest between the emperors and popes, in which the latter discover a most arrogant and despotic spirit.	Michael Psellus.
Constantine VIII. 1028	Sergius IV. 1012	Agelnoth 1038	Fulpert, bishop of Chartres.		The dignity of cardinal is first instituted in this century.	Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.
Romanus II. Argyr. 1034	Benedict VIII. 1024	Eadsius 1050	Adelbold, bishop of Utrecht.		The Moors are driven by degrees from several parts of Spain; hence arose the division of that country	Guido Aretino, inventor of musical notes.
Michael IV. Paphl. 1041	A schism between Gregory and Benedict.	Robert Gemeticensis 1052	Alexis, patriarch of Constantinople.			Wippo.
Michael V. Calaphates 1051	John XIX. 1033	Stigand, deposed in 1070	Berno, of Augsburg.			John Scylitzes.
Constantine IX. Monomach. 1054	Benedict IX. 1044	Lanfranc 1089	Ademar.			Avicenna, or Ebn Sina, an Arabian philosopher.
Theodora 1056	A schism between the two Johns and Benedict.	Anselm.	The Brunos.			
Michael VI. Strat. 1057	Gregory VI. 1046		Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury.			Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary.
Isaac I. Comn. 1059	Clement II. 1048		Theophanes Cerameus.			Alphes, a Jew.
Constantine X. Ducas 1067	Damasus II. 1049		Nilus Doxopatrius.			Josippon, or the false Josephus.
Romanus III.	Leo IX. 1054		Michael Psellus.			
Diogenes 1071	Victor II. 1057					

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Nicephorus II.	Stephen X. 1059		Michael Cerularius.		into so many little kingdoms.	Ferdousi, a Persian poet.
Botoniates 1081	Benedict X. 1059		Simeon the Younger.		Matilda, daughter of Boniface, duke of Tuscany, leaves all her possessions to the church of Rome, in consequence of her passionate attachment to Hildebrand, otherwise known by the papal name of Gregory VII. with whom she lived in a licentious commerce.	Roscellin.
Alexis I. Comnen.	Nicolas II. 1061		Theophylact, a Bulgarian.			John the philosopher.
	A schism between Nicolas and Benedict.		Cardinal Humbert.			John Curopalata, one of the Byzantine historians.
Emperors of the West.	Alexander II. 1073		Petrus Damianus.			
Otho III. 1002	A schism between Alexander and Cadalous.		Marianus Scotus.			
Henry II. 1024	Gregory VII. 1086		Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.			
Conrad II. 1039	A schism between Gregory and Guy, bishop of Ravenna.		Ivo, bishop of Chartres.			
Henry III. 1056	Victor III. 1088		Hildebert, archbishop of Tours.			
Henry IV.	Urban II. 1099		Pope Gregory VII.			
Kings of Spain, i. e. of Leon and the Asturias.			Gerhard.		Sicily, Castile, Poland, and Hungary, are erected into kingdoms.	
Alphonso V. 1027			Hugh of Breteuil.			
Veremond III. 1037			Berthold.		The kingdom of Burgundy and Arles is transferred to the emperor Conrad II. by Rodolph king of Burgundy.	
Kings of Leon and Castile united.			Hermannus Contract.			
Ferdinand I. surnamed the Great 1065			Peter, patriarch of Antioch.			
Sancho II. 1073			Glaber Radulphus.		Several of the popes are looked upon as magicians, as, in these times of darkness, learning, and more especially philosophy and mathematics, were considered as magic.	
Alphonso VI.			Deoduinus bishop of Liege.			
Kings of France.			Adelman.			
Robert 1031			Nicetas Pectoratus.			
Henry I. 1060			Leo of Bulgaria.			
Philip I.			Guitmund.			
Kings of England.			Manasses, archbishop of Rheims.		Investitures introduced in this century.	
Ethelred II. 1016			John, patriarch of Antioch.			
Edmond Ironside 1017			Sigefrid.		Papal tyranny is nobly opposed by the emperors Henry I. II. and III. by William I. king of England, and other mon-	
Canute the			Samon of Gaza.			
			Samuel of Morocco, a			

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Great, king of Denmark 1035			converted Jew.		archs of that nation, by Philip,	
Harold Harefoot 1039			John Xiphilin.		king of France,	
Hardicanute 1041			Lambert.		and by the British and German churches.	
Edward the Confessor 1066			Adam of Bremen.		Baptism is performed by triple immersion.	
Harold 1066			John Curopalata.		The Sabbath Fasts introduced by Gregory VII.	
Norman Line.			Benno of Ravenna.		The Cistercian, Carthusian, and Whipping Orders, with many others, are founded in this century.	
William the Conqueror 1087			Nicholas of Methone.			
William Rufus 1100			Philip the Solitary.			
			Othlon of Fulda.			
Kings of Scotland.			Tangmar.			
Grime 1003			Guido Aretino.			
Malcolm II. 1033			Eugesippus.		The emperor Henry IV. goes barefooted to the insolent pontiff Gregory VII. at Canusium, and does homage to this spiritual tyrant in the most ignominious manner. The same emperor, however, besieges Rome soon after, and makes a noble stand against the pontiff.	
Donald VII. by some called Duncan 1040			A famous, but anonymous work, called Micrologus, appeared in this century.			
Macbeth 1057			Dominic of Grado.			
Malcolm III. 1093			Alberic.			
Donald VIII. dethroned 1094			Osborn, a monk of Canterbury.			
Duncan II. 1096						
Donald again 1097						
Kings of Sweden.					Domesday-book is compiled from a survey of all the estates in England.	
Olaus II. 1019					Jerusalem is taken by the Crusaders.	
Asmund 1035						
Asmundslem 1041						
Hakon 1059						
Stenchil 1061						
Ingo III. 1064						
Alstan 1080						
Philip.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Kings of Denmark. Sweyn 1014 Canute the Great, king of England 1035 Hardicanute 1041 Magnus 1048 Sweyn II. 1074 Harold 1076 St. Canute 1085 Olaus 1093 Eric II.						
Kings of Poland. Boleslaus, first king, 1025 Micislaus 1034 Interregnum. Casimir 1058 Boleslaus II. 1081 Uladislaus.						
Kings of Jerusalem. Godfrey, chosen king in 1099, dies in 1100 Baldwin I.						

CENTURY XII.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the East. A.D. Aléxis I.	Pascal II. 1118 Anti-Popes, Clement,	Anselm 1109 Ralph 1122 William de	Gilbert, abbot of Westminster. Guibert.	The Bogomiles and Catharists were a kind	The Sclavonians and the inhabitants of the island of Rugen	Anselm of Laon. Vacarius. Leoninus,

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Comnen. 1118	Albert,	Corboil 113[illegible]	Sigebert of Gemblours.	of Manicheans.	receive the light of the Gospel,	the supposed introducer of Latin rhymes.
John II. Comnen. 1143	Theodore, and Maginulph.	Theobald 1161	Peter Alphonso.	The Pasaginians were a kind of Arians, who	and their example is followed by the Livonians and Finlanders.	Roger Hoveden.
Emanuel Comnen. 1180	Gelasius II. 1119	Thomas Becket 1170	Odo of Orleans.	also discovered a	The state of affairs in Asiatic Tartary changes	John of Salisbury.
Alexis II. Comnen. 1183	Calistus II. 1124	Richard 1183	Godfrey of Vendôme.	strange attachment	in favor of the Christians, by	William of Malmesbury.
Andronicus Comnen. 1185	Honorius II. 1130	Baldwin 1191	Rupert of Duitz.	to the ceremonial law	the elevation of Prester-John.	John Zonaras.
Isaac II. Ang. 119[illegible]	Innocent II. 1143	Reginald Fitz-Jocelin 1191	Baldric.	of Moses.	The Crusade is	George Cedrenus.
Alexis III.	Celestine II. 1144	Hubert Fitz Walter.	Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux.	Eon, a madman, rather	renewed.	John Cinnamus.
	Lucius II. 1145		Bernard of Clairval.	than a heretic.	The kingdom of Jerusalem is	Silvester Girald, bishop of St. David's.
	Eugenius III. 1153		Abelard.		overturned, and	
Emperors of the West.	Anastasius IV. 1154		Athelred.	The same	the affairs of	Godfrey of Viterbo.
Henry IV. 1106	Adrian IV. 1159		Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury.	thing may be said of	the Christians in Palestine declines.	William of Newburgh, an English historian.
Henry V. 1125	Alexander III. 1181		Euthymius Zigab.	Tranquillinus.	A third Crusade	Pelagius, bishop of Oviedo.
Lothaire II. 1138	Lucius III. 1185		William of Malmesbury.	As to Arnold of Brescia,	undertaken.	John of Milan, author of the poem called Schola Salernitana.
Conrad III. 115[illegible]	Ur III 1187		John of Salisbury.	the Petrobrussians,	The three famous military orders	
Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa 119[illegible]	Gregory VIII. 1188		Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.	Henricians, Waldenses, and Apostolics, if allowance be	instituted, viz. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem—The	Robert Pullein, an English cardinal.
Henry VI. 1198	Clement III. 1191		Gervase, a monk of Canterbury.	made for some few points, they	Knights Templars—The Teutonic Knights of	Abraham Aben-Ezra.
Philip.	Celestine III. 1199		Nicephorus of Brienne.	rather deserve the title of Reformers and	St. Mary.	John and Isaac Tzetzes.
Kings of Spain, i. e. of Leon and Castile.			Anselm, bishop of Havelberg.	Witnesses to the Truth, than that of	The original MS. of the famous Pandect of Justinian is discovered in the	Henry of Huntingdon.
Alphonso VI 1109			Jo. Zonaras.	Heretics.	ruins of Amalphi, or Melfi,	Nicetas.
Alphonso VII. 1134			Mich. Glycas.	Peter Abelard and	when that city	Werner.
Alphonso VIII. 1157			Hugo Victorines.	Gilbert de la Porrée	was taken by	Moses Maimonides.
Sancho III. 1158			Eadmerus.	differed from the notions	Lothaire II. in 1137, and this	
Ferdinand II. 1175			George Cedrenus.	commonly received with	emperor makes a present of it	
Alphonso IX.			Peter, the Venerable.	respect to the Holy	to the city of Pisa, whose fleet	
Kings of France.			Honorius of Autun.	Trinity.	had contributed, in a particular	
Philip I. 1108			Foucher.	The Albigenses, a branch	manner, to the success of the siege.	
			Alger,		The contest be-	Anvari, a

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Louis VI. surnamed the Gross 1137 Louis VII. surnamed the Young 1180 Philip Aug. *Kings of England.* Henry I. 1135 Stephen 1154 Henry II. 1189 Richard I. 1199 John. *Kings of Scotland.* Edgar 1106 Alexander 1124 David 1153 Malcolm IV. 1165 William *Kings of Sweden.* Philip 1110 Ingo IV. 1129 Ragwald 1140 Magnus, deposed in 1148 Suercher 1160 Eric, the Holy 1161 Charles VII. 1168 Canute II. 1192 Suercher II.			Gratian. Peter Lombard. Henry of Huntingdon. William bishop of Rheims. Constantine Harmen. Orderic Vital. Constantine Manass. Zacharias Chrysop. Peter of Blois. Peter Comestor. Peter de Celles. Peter of Poictiers. John Cinnamus. John Beleth. Helmold. Gislebert, bishop of London. Stephen Harding. George Xiphilin. Alexand. Arist. Godfrey of Viterbo. Theod. Balsamon. Richard of St. Victor. William of Auxerre. Bruno of Asti. Simeon of Durham.	of the Waldenses, are branded with the denomination of Manichæans.	tween the emperors and popes is renewed under Frederic Barbarossa and Adrian IV.—The insolence of the popes excessive. Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, assassinated before the altar, while he was at vespers in his cathedral. The scandalous traffic of indulgences begun by the bishops, and soon after monopolized by the popes. The Scholastic Theology, whose jargon did such mischief in the church, had its rise in this century. The seeds of the Reformation were sown, in this century, by the Waldenses, and other eminent men in England and France. Pope Paschal II. orders the Lord's supper to be administered only in one kind, and retrenches the cup. The Canon-Law formed into a body, by Gratian. Academical degrees introduced in this century. Learning revives	Persian astronomer. Portius Azo. Nestor, a Russian historian. Falcandus. Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, whose Travels were translated by Baratier. Averroes, or Ebn-Zohr. Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica. Solomon Jarchi. Al-Hasen, an Arabian, who composed a large work on Optics. George Al-Makin, author of the History of the Saracens translated by Erpenius. Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Kings of Denmark.					and is encouraged in the university of Cambridge.	
Eric II. 1101					The pope declares war against Roger king of Sicily, who takes from his holiness Capua and Beneventum.	
Nicolas 1135					The council of Clarendon held against Becket.	
Eric III. 1138					The kings of England and France go to the Holy Land.	
Eric IV. 1147					Henry II. of England, being called by one of the Irish kings to assist him, takes possession of Ireland.	
Canute V. 1155						
Sweyn III. 1157						
Waldemar 1182						
Canute VI.						
Kings of Poland.						
Uladislaus 1102						
Boleslaus III. 1139						
Uladislaus II. 1146						
Boleslaus IV. 1173						
Micislaus 1178						
Casimir II. 1195						
Lescus or Lecho V.						
Kings of Jerusalem.						
Baldwin I. 1118						
Baldwin II. 1131						
Foulques or Fulk 1141						
Baldwin III. 1162						
Almeric 1173						
Baldwin IV. 1185						
Baldwin V. 1186						
Guy of Lusignan.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Jerusalem was retaken by the Infidels in 1187						
Almeric from 1196 to 1205						
Kings of Portugal.						
Alphonso I. proclaimed king in 1139						
dies in 1185						
Sancho I.						

CENTURY XIII.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the East.	Innocent III. 1216	Hub. Fitz-Walter 1204	Joachim.	The Waldenses.	The Moslem religion triumphs over Christianity in China and the northern parts of Asia, by flattering the passions of voluptuous princes.	Roger Bacon, one of the great restorers of learning and philosophy.
A. D.	Honorius III. 1226	Stephen Langton 1228	John, bishop of Macedonia.	Nestorians.		Saxo Grammaticus.
Alexis III. dethroned in 1203	Gregory IX. 1241	Richard Le Grand 1231	Demetrius Chomatenus. Mark, patriarch of Alexandria.	Jacobites.		Ralph de Diceto.
Alexis IV. dethroned in 1204	Celestine IV. 1243	St. Edmund 1242	Malachy, archbishop of Armagh.	The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, otherwise called Beghards and Beguttes, Beghins and Turlupins.	A papal ambassy is sent to the Tartars by Innocent IV.	Walter of Coventry.
Alexis Ducas, surnamed Murzuphle 1204	Innocent IV. 1254	Boniface 1270	Nicetas Choniata.		A fourth crusade is undertaken by the French and Venetians, who make themselves masters of Constantinople, with a design to restore the throne to Isaac Angelus, who had been dethroned	Alexander of Paris, the founder of French poetry.
	Alexander IV. 1261	Robert Kilwardby 1278	François d'Assise.	Amalric.		Villehardouin, an historian.
	Urban IV. 1264	John Peckham 1291	Alan de l'Isle.	Joachim.		Accursi of Florence.
Latin Emperors of the East residing at Constantinople.	Clement IV. 1268	Robert Winchelsey.	Jacobus de Vitriaco.	Wilhelmina.		Kimchi, a Spanish Jew.
	Gregory X. 1276		Peter, the monk.	The sect of the Apostles.		
	Innocent V. 1276		Antony of Padua.	John of Parma, author of the everlasting gospel.		
	Adrian V. 1276		Germanus			
Baldwin I. 1205	John XX. 1277					
Henry. 1216						
Peter 1221						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Robert 1229 Balduin II. 1259	Nicolas III. 1280 Martin IV. 1285 Honorius IV. 1288 Nicolas IV. 1292 Celestine V. 1294		Cæsarius. William of Paris. Raymond of Pennafort. Alexander Hales. Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas of Spalatro. John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury. Roger Bacon. Albert, the Great. Rob. Grossetête. Vincent de Beauvais. Robert of the Sorbonne. George Acropolita. Hugo de St. Caro. George Metochita. Guillaume de St. Amour. Nicephorus Blem. Thomas Aquinas. Bonaventura. Gilbert of Tournay. John of Paris, an opposer of transubstantiation and papal tyranny. John Beccus. Nicetas Acominatus. Theodore Lascaris.	Flagellants. Circumcelliones.	by his brother Ducas. The emperor Isaac is put to death in a sedition, and his son Alexis strangled by Alexis Ducas, the ringleader of this faction. The crusaders take Constantinople a second time, dethrone Ducas, and elect Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. The empire of the Franks in the East, which had subsisted fifty-seven years, is overturned by Michael Palæologus. A fifth crusade, which is carried on by the confederate arms of Italy and Germany. The fleet of the crusaders ruined by the Saracens. The fifth crusade undertaken by Louis IX. who takes Damietta, but is afterwards reduced, with his army, to extremities; dies of the plague in a second crusade, and is canonized. The knights of the Teutonic Order, under the command of Herman de Saliza, conquer and convert to Christianity the Prussians, at	Conrad de Lichtenau. John Holywood, called De Sacro Bosco, author of the Sphæra Mundi. Actuarius, a Greek physician. Rod. Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo. Michael Coniat, bishop of Athens. Ivel. Rigord, an historian. Pierre de Vignes. Matthew Paris. Suffridus. Sozomen, author of the Universal Chronology, which is yet in MS. in the possession of the Regular Canons of Fesoli, near Florence. Barthol. Cotton, of Norwich; see Wharton's Anglia Sacra. Engelbert. Thomas Wicke, an English historian. Vitellio, a Polish mathematician.
Greek Emperors residing at Nice. Theodore Lascaris 1222 John Ducas III. 1255 Theodore Lascaris 1259 John Lascaris IV. 1259 Michael Palæologus retakes Constantinople in the year 1261, and thus unites, in his person, the Latin and Greek empires; he dies in 1283. Andronicus II.						
Emperors of the West. Philip 1208 Otho IV. 1218 Frederic II. 1250 Civil wars and an interregnum, during which Conrad of Suabia, William count of Holland, Richard king of England, Alphonso of Spain, Ot-						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
tocar of Bohemia, appear on the scene of action.			Arsenius.		the desire of Conrad, duke of Masovia.	Albert the Great.
Rodolphus of Hapsburg is elected emperor in 1273, and dies in 1291			George Pachymer.		Christianity is propagated among the Arabians in Spain.	Colonna, archbishop of Messina.
Adolphus of Nassau, deposed in 1298			George the Cyprian.		The philosophy of Aristotle triumphs over all the systems that were in vogue before this century.	Michael Scot, the translator of Aristotle.
Albert I.			Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury.		The power of creating bishops, abbots, &c. is claimed by the Roman pontiffs, whose wealth and revenues are thereby greatly augmented.	Gregory Abulfaragius.
Kings of Spain, i. e.			Robert Capito.		John, king of England, excommunicated by pope Innocent III. is guilty of the basest compliances, through his slavish fear of that insolent pontiff.	Foscari of Bologna.
of Leon and Castile.			Thomas Cantiprat.		The inquisition established in Narbonne Gaul, and committed to the direction of Dominic and his order, who treat the Waldenses, and other reputed heretics, with the most inhuman cruelty.	Alphonso, king of Castile.
Alphonso IX. 1214			Richard Middleton.		The adoration of the Host is introduced by Pope Honorius III.	Cavalcanti of Florence.
Henry I. 1217			William Durand.		The Magna Charta is signed by king John and his barons on the 15th of June, at	Dinus, a famous jurist.
Ferdinand III. 1252			Ægidius de Columna.			Marco Polo, a Venetian, whose travels in China are curious.
Alphonso X. 1284			Guil. Peraldus.			Francis Barberini, an Italian poet.
Sancho IV. 1295			Martin Polon.			
Ferdinand IV.			Raymond Martin.			
Kings of France.			Jacob de Voragine.			
Philip Aug. 1223			Guillaume de Seignelai, bishop of Auxerre.			
Louis VIII. 1226			William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris.			
Louis IX. sainted 1270			Henry of Ghent.			
Philip III. the Hardy 1285			Pope Boniface VIII.			
Philip IV. the Fair.						
Kings of England.						
John 1216						
Henry III. 1272						
Edward I.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Kings of Scotland.					Runemede, near Windsor.	
William 1214					A debate arises between the Dominicans and Franciscans concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.	
Alexander II. 1249					Jubilees instituted by pope Boniface VIII.	
Alexander III. 1285					The Sicilian Vespers—when the French in Sicily, to the number of 8000, were massacred in one evening, at a signal given by John of Prochyta, a Sicilian nobleman.	
Interregnum.					Conrad, duke of Suabia, and Frederic of Austria, beheaded at Naples by the counsel of pope Clement IV.	
John Baliol.					The Jews are driven out of France by Louis IX. and all the copies of the Talmud, that could be found, are burned.	
Kings of Sweden.					The college of electors founded in the empire.	
Suercher II. 1211					The association of the Hans-Towns.	
Eric X. 1218					The Dominicans, Franciscans, Servites, Mendicants, and the Hermits of St. Augustin, date the origin of their orders from this century.	
John I. 1222					The fables concerning the removal of the chapel of Loret-	
Eric XI. 1250						
Waldemar 1276						
Magnus 1290						
Birger.						
Kings of Denmark.						
Canute VI. 1202						
Waldemar II. 1241						
Eric VI. 1250						
Abel 1252						
Christopher 1259						
Eric VII. 1286						
Eric VIII.						
Kings of Poland.						
Lescus V. 1203						
Uladislaus III. 1226						
Boleslaus V. 1279						
Lescus VI. 1289						
Boleslaus, Henry, and Uladislaus, take the title of Governors.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Premislaus. 1296 Uladislaus IV. deposed in 1300 Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.					to; the vision of Sim. Stockius, the Wandering Jew, and St. Antony's obliging an ass to adore the sacrament, are invented about this time. The festivals of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, and of the Holy Sacrament or Body of Christ, instituted. The rise of the house of Austria is referred to this century. Wales is conquered by Edward, and united to England. There is an uninterrupted succession of English parliaments from the year 1293.	
Kings of Portugal. Sancho I. 1212 Alphonso II. 1223 Sancho II. 1246 Alphonso III. 1279 Denis.						

CENTURY XIV.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the East. A. D. Andronicus II. 1332 Andronicus, the Younger 1341	Boniface VIII. 1303 Benedict XI. 1304 Clement V. 1314 John XXI. 1334 A schism between Peter and John.	Robert Winchelsey 1313 Walter Raynold 1327 Simon Mepham 1333 I. Stratford 1348 Thomas Bradwardine 1349	Nicephorus Callistus. Raymond Lully. Matthæus Blastares. Greg. Acindynus. John Cantacuzenus. Nicephorus Greg.	Waldenses. Palamites, Hesychasts, and Quietists, three different names for one sect. Spiritual Franciscans. Ceccus Ascu-	Fruitless attempts made to renew the crusades. Christianity encouraged in Tartary and China; but loses ground towards the end of this century. The Lithuanians and Jagello, their prince, con-	Dante, the principal restorer of philosophy and letters, and also one of the most sublime poets of modern times. Petrarca.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
John Cantacuzenus usurps the government under John Palæologus, and holds it till the year 1355	Benedict XII. 1342	Simon Islip 1365	Duns Scotus.	lanus, who was burned at Florence by the Inquisition for making	verted to the Christian faith in the year 1386.	Boccaccio.
John VI. Palæol. 1390	Clement VI. 1352	Simon Langham 1374	Andrew of Newcastle.	some experiments in mechanics that appeared miraculous to the vulgar.	Many of the Jews are compelled to receive the Gospel.	Chaucer.
Andronicus IV. 1392	Innocent VI. 1362	Simon Sudbury 1381	Francis Mayron.	Beghards, and Beguines.	Philosophy and Grecian literature are cultivated with zeal in this century.	Matthew of Westminster.
Emanuel II.	Urban V. 1372	W. Courtenay 1396	Durand of St. Portian.	As to the Cellites or Lollards, they cannot be deemed heretics.	The disputes between the Realists and Nominalists revive.	Nicolas Trivet.
	A schism between Urban and Clement.	Thomas Arundel.	Nicolas de Lyra.	The followers of John Wickliffe deserve an eminent place, with their leader, in the list of Reformers.	Philip the Fair, king of France, opposes with spirit the tyrannic pretensions of the pope to a temporal jurisdiction over kings and princes, and demands a general council to depose Boniface VIII. whom he accuses of heresy, simony, and several enormities.	Nicephorus Gregoras, a compiler of the Byzantine History.
	Gregory XI. 1378		John Bacon.	Nicolas of Calabria.	The papal authority declines.	Theodore Metochita.
	The death of Gregory XI. occasioned that violent schism which threw the western church into the utmost confusion.		William Occam.	Martin Gonsalvo.	The residence of the popes removed to Avignon.	Guillaume de Nangis, historian.
Emperors of the West.			Nicolas Trivet.	Bartold de Rorbach.	The universities of Avignon, Perugia, Orleans, Angers, Florence, Cahors, Heidelberg, Prague, Perpignan, Cologne, Pavia, Cracow, Vienna, Orange,	Henry Stero, historian.
Albert I. 1308			Andrew Horne.	The Dancers.		Dinus Mugellanus.
Henry VII. of Luxemburg 1313			Richard Bury.			Evrard, historian.
Louis V. Bav. 1347			Walter Burley.			Hayton, an American historian.
Charles IV. 1378			Richard Hampole.			Albertino Mussato.
Wenceslaus 1406			Robert Holkot.			Orderic de Forli.
Kings of Spain, i. e.	*At Rome.* Urban VI. 1389		Thomas Bradwardine, archbishop of Canterbury.			Leopold, bishop of Bamberg.
Leon and Castile.	Boniface IX.		John Wickliffe.			Peter of Duisburg, an historian.
Ferdinand IV. 1312	*At Avignon.* Clement VII. not acknowledged 1394		Thomas Stubbs.			Albert of Strasburg, an historian.
Alphonso XI. 1350			John de Burgo.			Barlaam of Calabria, master of Petrarch.
Pedro the Cruel 1369	Benedict XIII.		William Wolfort.			Joinville.
Henry II. 1379			The last thirteen all English authors.			Peter de Apono, physician and astronomer.
John I. 1390			Peter Aureolus.			Marsigli of Padua, a famous lawyer.
Henry III.			John Bassolis.			John Andre,
Kings of France.			Bernard Guido.			
Philip the Fair 1314			Alvarus Pelagius.			
Louis X. Hutin 1316			Theophanes, bishop of Nice.			
Philip V. 1322			Philotheus.			
Philip VI. of Valois 1350			Antonius Andreas.			

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
John 1364 Charles V. 1380 Charles VI.			Herveus Natalis. Thomas of Strasburg. Raynerius of Pisa. John of Fribourg. Pope Clement VI. Thomas Joysius. John of Naples. Albert of Padua. Michael Cesenas. Gregory Palamas. Andronicus. Peter of Duisburg. Ludolf Saxon. Cardinal Caietan. James of Viterbo. Cardinal Balde. George of Rimini. The popes Benedict XI. and XII. Gui of Perpignan. Nicolas Cabasilas, archbishop of Thessalonica. Richard, bishop of Armagh. Demetrius Cydonius. Petrarch. Peter Berchorius. John Cyparissotes. Nicolas Oresme.		Sienna, Erfort, Geneva, founded. The rise of the great western schism, which destroyed the unity of the Latin church, and placed at its head two rival popes. John Wickliff opposes the monks, whose licentiousness and ignorance were scandalous, and recommends the study of the Holy Scriptures. A warm contest arises among the Franciscans about the poverty of Christ and his Apostles. Another between the Scotists and Thomists, about the doctrines of their respective chiefs. Pope Clement V. orders the Jubilee which Boniface had appointed to be held in every hundredth year to be celebrated twice within that period. The Knights Templars are seised and imprisoned; the greatest part of them put to death, and their order suppressed.	an eminent jurist. Leontius Pilato, one of the restorers of learning. Gentilis de Foligno. Ismael Abulfeda, an Arabian prince. Peter of Ferrara. Arnold of Villa-Nova. William Grisant, an English mathematician. Homodi of Milan. Albergotti of Arezzo. Philip of Leyden. Baldus de Ubaldis. Froissart, a French historian.
Kings of England. Edward I. 1307 Edward II. 1327 Edward III. 1377 Richard II. 1399 Henry IV.						
Kings of Scotland. John Baliol 1306 Robert Bruce 1329 David II. 1370 Robert II. 1390 Robert III.						
Kings of Sweden. Birger 1326 Magnus 1363 Albert, defeated by Margaret queen of Denmark in 1387, dies in the year 1396 Margaret.						
Sovereigns of Denmark. Eric VIII. 1321 Christopher II. 1333 Waldemar III. 1375 Olaus 1387 Margaret.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Kings of Poland. Wenceslaus 1305 Uladislaus re-ascends the throne, and dies in 1333 Casimir III. 1370, the last of the Piasts. Louis, king of Hungary 1381 Interregnum. Uladislaus Jagellon, duke of Lithuania.			Philip Ribot. Nilus Rhodius. Maximus Plan. John Taulerus. Greg. Palamas. Nic. Eymericus. John Rusbroch. Manuel Caleca. Catharine of Sienna. St. Bridget. Gerard of Zutphen. Pierre Ailli. Francis Zabarella. Marsigli of Padua, who wrote against the papal jurisdiction. Philippe de Mazieres. Jordan of Quedlinburg. Barth. Albizi of Pisa, author of the famous book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ. Fabri, bishop of Chartres. Michael Anglianus. Raymond Jordan. Jac. de Theramo. Manuel Chrysoloras. Cardinal		The Golden Bull, containing rules for the election of an emperor of Germany, and a precise account of the dignity and privileges of the electors, is issued by Charles IV. Clement VI. adds the county of Avignon to the papal territories. The emperor Henry VII. dies, and is supposed by some authors to have been poisoned by a consecrated wafer, which he received at the sacrament, from the hands of Bernard Politian, a Dominican monk. This account is denied by authors of good credit. The matter, however, is still undecided. Gunpowder is invented by Schwartz, a monk. The mariner's compass is invented by John Gioia, or, as others allege, by Flavio. The city of Rhodes is taken from the Saracens, in the year 1309, by the Knights Hospitalers, subse-	
Kings of Portugal. Denis 1325 Alphonso IV. 1357 Pedro, the Justiciary 1367 Ferdinand 1383 Interregnum. John I.						
Ottoman Emperors. The ancient history of the Turks extends from the beginning of the seventh to the commencement of the fourteenth century. The modern commences about the beginning of the four-						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
teenth century. Othman 1327 Or Khan 1359 Amurath, or Morad 1389 Bajazet or Ba-yezid.			Francis Zabarella, with many others, too numerous to mention.		quently called the Knights of Malta. Timour extends his conquests in the East. The Bible is translated into French by the order of Charles V. The festival of the holy lance and nails that pierced Jesus Christ instituted by Clement V.—Such was this pontiff's arrogance, that once, while he was dining, he ordered Dandolo, the Venetian ambassador, to be chained under the table like a dog. The beginning of the Swiss Cantons. The emperor Louis of Bavaria, Philip the Fair, king of France, Edward III., king of England, who opposed the tyranny of the popes, may be looked upon as witnesses to the truth and preparers of the Reformation. To these we may add Durand, Gerson, Olivus, who called the pope Antichrist, and Wickliff, who rejected tran-	

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
					substantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, the adoration of the host, purgatory, meritorious satisfactions by penance, auricular confession, the celibacy of the clergy, papal excommunications, the worship of images, of the Virgin and relics. The order of the Garter is instituted in England by Edward III.	

CENTURY XV.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East. A. D.	Boniface IX. 1404	Thomas Arundel 1413	John Huss.	The Waldenses.	The Moors and Jews are converted in Spain, by force.	Laurentius Valla, the great restorer of Latin elocution.
Emanuel II. 1425	Innocent VII. 1406	H. Chichele 1443	Jerome of Prague.	The Wickliffites.	In the year 1492, Christopher Columbus opens a passage into America, by the discovery of the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica.	Leonard Aretin.
John VI.	Gregory XII. deposed 1409	John Stafford 1452	Paulus Anglicus.	The White Brethren.		Gasparini.
Palæologus 1448	Alexander V. 1410	John Kemp 1453	John Gerson.	The men of understanding, who were headed by Ægidius Cantar, and William of Hildernissen.		William Lyndewood.
Constantine Palæologus, so far down as the year 1453, when Constantinople was taken by Mohammed II.	John XXII. deposed 1417	Thomas Bourchier 1486	Herman de Petra.			Alexander Chartier.
	Martin V. 1431	J. Morton 1500	Theod. de Niem, bishop of Cambray.			Fr. Frezzi.
	Eugenius IV. 1447		Tho. Valdensis.		Constantinople taken by the Turks in the year 1453.	Christina of Pisa.
	A schism.—The council		Pope Alexander V.	Picard, an Adamite.		Paul de Castro.
			John Capreolus.	The follow-	Letters flourish	Poggio of Florence.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of the West. Rupert or Robert 1410 Jodocus not acknowleged. Sigismund 1437 Albert II. of Austria 1439 Frederic III. 1493 Maximilian I.	of Basil depose Eugenius, and elect Amadeus, first duke of Savoy, who assumes the title of Felix V. Eugenius, however, triumphs in the issue. Nicolas V. 1455 Calistus III. 1458 Pius II. 1464 Paul II. 1471 Sixtus IV. 1484 Innocent VIII. 1492 Alexander VI.		Peter de Ancharano. Nicolas de Clemangis. Theod. Urias. Alphons. Tostat. John, patriarch of Antioch. Mark of Ephesus. Cardinal Bessarion. G. Scholarius. G. Gemistus. John de Turrecremata. George of Trapezond. John Capistran. Laurentius Valla. John of Segovia. Franc. de la Place. Reginald, bishop of St. Asaph. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence. Nicolas de Cusa, bishop of Brixen, and cardinal. Thomas a Kempis. Anton. de Rosellis. Rickel. Ducas. Bened. de Accoltis. Guill. d'Aoupelande. James Paradise, an	ing deserve rather the denomination of Reformers than Heretics, viz. John Huss, Jerome of Prague. Branches of the Hussites, the Calixtines. Orebites. Orphans. Taborites. Bohemian Brethren; also John Petit. John Wellus. Peter Osma. Matth. Grabon.	in Italy, under the protection of the house of Medici and the Neapolitan monarchs of the house of Arragon. The calamities of the Greeks under the Turkish government, conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins. The council of Constance is assembled by the emperor Sigismond in the year 1414. John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, are committed to the flames, by a decree of that council. The council of Basil is opened in the year 1431, and in it the reformation of the church is attempted in vain. Horrible enormities are committed by the popes of this century, and more especially by Alexander VI. The council of Constance remove the sacramental cup from the laity, and declare it lawful to violate the most solemn engagements when made to heretics.	John Fortescue, high chancellor of England. Theod. Gaza. Bart. Facio. Dluglossus, a Polish historian. R. Sanc. de Arevallo. Chalcondylas. J. Savonarola. Marcilius Ficinus. John Picus de Mirandula. Marc. Coc. Sabellicus. Forestus. Ant. Bonfinius. Jovian. Pontanus. G. Gemistus. J. Alvarot. Guarini of Verona. J. Juv. des Ursins. Mass. Vegio. Flavio Biondo. J. Argyropulus. Dr. Thomas Linacre. The Stroxi. Bon. Monbritius. P. Callim. Esperiente. Jul. Pompon. Lætus. Angelo Politiano. Fulgosi. A. Urceus Codrus. Mich. Marullus. Oliver de la Marche.
Kings of Spain, i. e. Leon and Castile. Henry III. 1406 John II. 1451 Henry IV. 1474 Ferdinand, in right of Isabella.						
Kings of France. Charles VI. Charles VII. 1461 Louis XI. 1483 Charles VIII. 1498 Louis XII.						
Kings of England. Henry IV. 1413 Henry V. 1422 Henry VI. dethroned, in 1461 Edward IV. 1483 Edward V. 1483						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Richard III. 1485			English Carthusian.		The war of the Hussites in Bohemia.	Caiado.
Henry VIII.			Æneas Sylvius Picolomini, or pope.		Institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece.	Abrabanel.
Kings of Scotland.			Pius II.		The Moors and Jews driven out of Spain.	Calepin.
Robert III. 1406			Lorenzo Justiniani.		The massacre of Varna, in the year 1444.	Bebel.
James I. 1437			John Gobelin.		The order of Minimes instituted by Franc. de Paulo.	Martial de Paris.
James II. 1460			Alphonso de Spina.		Exploits of the Maid of Orleans.	Phil. de Comines.
James III. 1488			Greg. of Heimburg.		The art of printing with moveable wooden types, is invented by Coster at Haerlem; and the farther improvements of this admirable art are owing to Gensfleisch and Guttemberg, of Mentz, and Schœffer of Strasbourg.	Al. Achillini.
James IV.			Theod. Lelio.			Scipio Carteromaco.
Sovereigns of Sweden and Denmark.			Henry of Gorcum.			John Baptista Porto.
Margaret 1412			I. Ant. Campanus.			Aldus Manutius.
Eric IX. Deposed in 1438			Alex. de Imola.			Cherefeddin Ali, a Persian historian.
Christopher III. 1448			Henry Harphius.			Arabshah, an Arabian historian.
Charles Canutson 1471			J. Perez.			J. Whethamsted.
An interregnum until the year 1483			P. de Natalibus.			Ulug-beg, a Tartar prince.
John.			B. Platina.			J. Braccelli.
Kings of Poland.			P. Niger.			Palmieri.
Uladislaus, Jag. 1434			John de Wesalia.			Villon, otherwise Corbueil.
Uladislaus, king of Hungary, 1444			Hermol. Barbarus.			Muller, surnamed Regiomontanus.
An interregnum of three years.			Michael of Milan.			Calentius, a Latin poet.
Casimir IV. 1492			Stephen Brulefer.			Dom. Calderini.
John Albert.			Cardinal Andr. du St. Sixte.			Barth. Fontius.
Kings of Portugal.			Savanarola.			Enguerr. de Monstrelet.
John I. 1433			Marsilius Ficinus.			Andronicus of Thessalonica.
			John Tritheme.			Fr. Philelphi.
			Picus, or Pico of Mirandula.			Alex. Imola.
			Ant. de Lebrixa.			J. Ant. Campani.
			Boussard.			Nich. Perotti.
			J. Reuchlin, otherwise called Capnio.			

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Edward 1438 Alphonso V. 1481 John II. 1495 Emmanuel the Great.			Jovianus Pontanus. Nicolas Simonis. Claude de Seyssel. Simeon of Thessalonica. Gobelin Persona. Henry of Hesse. George Phranza. Vincent Ferrieres. Julianus Cæsarinus. Nich. Tudeschus. Raymond de Sabunde, or Sebeyde. Catharine of Bologna. Gregorius Melissen. Marcus Eugenius. Sylvester Syropul. Ambrose, general of the Camaldolites. George Codinus. Onuphr. Panvinius. Gabriel Biel. John Nauclerus. John Nieder.		The first book printed with types of metal; which was the Vulgate Bible, published at Mentz in 1450: a second edition of the same book appeared at Mentz in 1642, and has been mistaken for the first. The famous Pragmatic Sanction established in France. The university of Caen in Normandy is founded by the English in the year 1437. The Portuguese sail, for the first time, to the East Indies, under Vasquez de Gama. Maximilian divides the empire into six circles.	Th. Littleton. Ant. of Palermo. Constant. Lascaris. A. Barbatius. Gobelin Personna. Bern. Justiniani. Dieb. Schilling. Ralph Agricola. I. Andreas. Alex. ab. Alexandro. G. Merula. M. M. Boiardo. A. Mancinelli. Rob. Gaguin. Bern. Corio. Gabr. Altilius. Gul. Caoursin. J. Nai. Al. Ranuccini. P. Crinitus. Molines. Cettes. John Murmelius. Mark Musurus. Jason Mainus. Pandolfo Collenucio R. Langius. Pietro Cosimo. Abraham Zachut.
Ottoman Emperors. Ba-yezid, taken prisoner by Timour in 1402 Solyman 1410 Mousa 1413 Mohammed I. 1421 Morad II. 1451 Mohammed II. who takes Constantinople in 1453 and dies in 1481 Bayezid II.						
Czars, or Emperors of Russia. There reigns, in the chronology of these princes, an uncommon degree of confusion, suitable to the barbarism of that nation. In the year 1732, they began to publish, at Petersburg, a series of their sovereigns, beginning with duke Ruric,						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
who is supposed to have reigned in the ninth century. From that time downward, all is darkness and perplexity, until we come to the reign of John Basilowitz I. who, in the fifteenth century, shook off the yoke of the Tartars, and assumed first the title of Czar, after having conquered the kingdom of Casan. We therefore begin with this prince, and shall follow the chronology observed by the authors of the Modern Universal History, in their History of Russia. The reader may, however, consult the Tablettes Chronologiques de l'Histoire Universelle of Lenglet, who places this prince						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
in the sixteenth century*. John Basilowitz.						

CENTURY XVI.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors. A. D.	Alexander VI. 1503	Henry Dean 1504	John Sleidan.	Schwenckfeld.	The Reformation is introduced into Germany by Luther, in the year 1517; into France by Calvin about 1529; into Switzerland by Zuingle, in 1519.	*British Authors.*
Maximilian I. 1519	Pius III. 1503	W. Warham 1532	William Budæus.	Andr. Osiander.		Sir Thomas More.
Charles V. abdicates the empire in 1556 and dies in 1558	Julius II. 1513	Thomas Cranmer 1555	Desiderius Erasmus.	Stancarus.		Thomas Lincacre.
	Leo X. 1521	Reginald Pole 1558	Martin Luther.	The Adiaphorists.		S. Purchas.
	Adrian VI. 1523	Matthew Parker 1575	Ph. Melanchthon.	Interimists.		Thomas Eliot.
Ferdinand 1564	Clement VII. 1534	Edmund Grindal 1583	John Brentius.	Agricola of Eisleben, the chief of the Antinomians.		Hect. Boethius.
Maximilian II. 1576	Paul III. 1549	John Whitgift.	Martin Bucer.		Henry VIII. of England, throws off the papal yoke, and becomes supreme head of the church.	J. Leland, the antiquary.
Rodolph II.	Julius III. 1555		Ulric Zuingle.	George Major.		Ed. Wotton.
Kings of Spain.	Marcellus II. 1555		Peter Galatin.	N. Amsdorff.		J. Christopherson.
Ferdinand V. surnamed the Catholic, king of Arragon, in consequence of his marriage with Isabella, becomes king of Castile; and the kingdoms of Arragon and	Paul IV. 1559		Fr. Ximenes.	The Synergists.	Edward VI. encourages the Reformation in England.	Cath. Tonstal.
	Pius IV. 1566		Thomas More.	M. Flacius.		R. Ascham.
	Pius V. 1572		John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury.	The Crypto-Calvinists.		J. Kaye.
	Gregory XIII. 1585		John Fisher.	Anabaptists.	The reign of queen Mary restores Popery, and exhibits a scene of barbarous persecution that shocks nature.	Thomas Smith.
	Sixtus V. 1590		John Œcolampadius.	Mennonites.		George Buchanan.
	Urban VII. 1590		And. Carolostadius, or Carlstadt.	Theoph. Paracelsus.		Alex. Arbuthnot.
	Gregory XIV. 1591		John Tiligius.	Postellus.		Sir Phil. Sidney.
	Innocent IX. 1592			David Georgius.		John Fox.
	Clement VIII.			Franc. Pucius.		Fr. Walsingham.
				Defid. Erasmus.	The name of Protestants given to the Reformed at the Diet	Ed. Grant.
				Agrippa.		Ed. Anderson.
				Cassander		

* He died in that century, but flourished chiefly in the fifteenth. EDIT.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Castile remain united. Isabella died in 1504, and Ferdinand in 1516			James Faber.	and Wicelius.	of Spire, in 1529.	John Dee.
Philip I. of Austria 1506			Matthew Flacius.	Conr. Vorstius.	The league of Smalcald is formed in 1530.	Thomas Craig.
Jane 1516			John Calvin.	Sam. Huberus.	The Reformation introduced into Scotland by John Knox, about the year 1560; and into Ireland by George Brown, about the same time; into the United Provinces, about the year 1566.	G. Creighton.
Charles I. or V. 1558			Martin Chemnitz.	Mich. Servetus.		Ed. Brerewood.
Philip II. 1598			James Andreas.	Valent. Gentilis.		*French Authors.*
Philip III. N. B.			David Chytræus.	Lælius Socinus.		William Budæus, or Bude.
Philip II. seised Portugal, which remained in the possession of the kings of Spain until the year 1640			William Farel.	Faustus Sócinus.		Clement Marot.
			Theodore Beza.	Quintin, the chief of the Libertines.		Fr. Rabelais.
			Faustus Socinus.			Ja. Dubois (Sylvius).
			Bened. Arias Montanus.			Pierre Gilles.
			And. Osiander.			Or. Finée.
			Ægid. Hunnius.			Robert Etienne, or Stephens.
			Melchior Canus.			P. Belon.
			Polyc. Lyserus.			William Morel.
			George Wicellus.			Adr. Turnebus.
			Cardinal Bellarmine.			Ch. Du Moulin.
			Stella.			Gilb. Cousin.
			Crantzius.			Mich. de l'Hopital.
			Thomas Illyricus.			L. Le Roy (Regius).
			Jacob Ben-Chaim, who gave an edition of the Hebrew Bible.			Hub. Languet, author of the Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos.
			Sanderus.			Laur. Joubert.
			Isid. Clarius.			James Pelletier.
			John Major.			Fr. Bellefo-rest.
			Andrew Vega.			M. A. Fr. Muret.
			Franc. Vatable.			P. Ronsard.
			Cardinal Sadolet.			J. Dorat.
			Cardinal Cortesius.			James Cujas.
			John Cochlæus.			Fr. Hotoman.
						James Amyot.
						Mich. de Montagne.
Kings of France.						
Louis XII. 1515						
Francis I. 1547						
Henry II. 1559						
Francis II. 1560						
Charles IX. 1574						
Henry III. 1589						
Henry IV.						
Kings of England.						
Henry VII. 1509						
Henry VIII. 1547						
Edward VI. 1553						
Mary 1558						
Elizabeth.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Kings of Scotland. James IV. 1513 James V. 1542 Mary, beheaded in 1587 James VI.			Alphons. Zamora. Vivaldi. J. Almain. Spagnoli. Aug. Dathus. Pope Adrian VI. Petro de Monte. Pope Leo X. Alb. Pighius. Henry VIII. king of England. Louis Vives. S. Pagninus. Leo de Castro. Matth. Ugonius. Cardinal Caietan. James Hoogstraat. Ambr. Catharini. John Faber. Ortuin Gratius. John Eckius. Leander Alberti. Nic. Serrarius. Pet. Canisius. Cæsar Baronius. Fran. Ribera. Pierre Pithou. Mich. Baius. W. Alan, English cardinal. Dr. John Colet. Mercator. Nic. Harpefield. Leunclavius. Molina. Salmeron. Maldonat.		The war of the Peasants. The universities of Wittenberg, Francfort on the Oder, Alcala, Saragossa, Marpurg, Seville, Compostella, Oviedo, Grenada, Franeker, Strasbourg, Parma, Macerata, Tortosa, Coimbra, Konigsberg, Leyden, Florence, Rheims, Dillingen, Mexico, St. Domingo, Tarragona, Helmstadt, Altorf, Paderborn, Sigen, founded in this century. The treaty of Passau, in 1552. The Paris massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day. The republic of the United Provinces formed by the union of Utrecht. The edict of Nantes granted to the Protestants by Henry IV. of France.	Mich. de Castelnau. P. Pithou. J. Bodin. Nic. Vignier. Bl. de Vigenere. Henri Etienne, commonly called Stephens. J. De Serres (Serranus). Cl. Fauchet. J. Passerat. J. J. Boissard. P. Daniel d'Orleans. Francis Viete. Cardinal d'Ossat. Rob. Constantin. P. Morin. Jos. Just. Scaliger. Nic. Rapin. J. Papire. Masson. P. B. Brantome. St. Pasquier. *Italian Authors.* Americo Vespucci. J. Jocondi of Verona, who discovered the Letters of Pliny. A. F. Grazini. Leonicini, the translator of Galen, Pomponace. M. A. Casanova. P. Gravina.
Kings of Sweden and Denmark. John 1513 Christiern II. deposed in 1522 Gustavus Ericson 1560 N. B. Sweden is separated from Denmark under this prince. Eric deposed in 1568 John III. 1592 Sigismond, king of Poland, deposed in 1599 Charles IX.						
Kings of Denmark. Christiern II. deposed in 1522 Frederic I. 1533 Christiern III. 1559 Frederic II. 1588 Christiern IV.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Kings of Poland.			J. Natalis.			Sannazarius.
John Albert, 1501			J. P. Maffei.			Machiavel.
Alexander 1506			Cardinal Hosius.			Vida.
Sigismund I. 1548			Jansenius.			J. A. Lascaris.
Sigismund II. 1572			John Tillet.			Alcyonius, translator of Aristotle.
Henry of Anjou, until the year 1574			James Naclantus.			Ariosto.
Stephen Bathori 1587			De Vargas.			Bern. Maffei.
Sigismond king of Sweden.			Cardinal Seripand.			Fr. Guicciardini.
			And. Masius.			Cardinal Bembo.
			Pope Paul IV.			Cardinal Sadolet.
			Widmanstadt.			And. Alciat.
			Cassander.			M. A. Flaminio d' Imola.
			Stapleton.			Lilius Giraldus.
Kings of Portugal.			Mercerus.			J. Fracastor
Emanuel the Great 1521			F. Xavier.			Polydore Virgil.
John III. 1557			Ign. Loyola.			M. A. Majoragio.
Sebastian 1578			Bishop Gardiner.			P. Aretino.
Henry, Card. 1580			Jer. Oleaster, with many others too numerous to mention.			J. de la Casa.
Portugal is reduced under the dominion of Spain by Philip II.			N. B. It is remarkable that, among the ecclesiastical writers of this century, there are above 55 who employed their labors in the exposition and illustration of the Scriptures; and this happy circumstance contributed, without doubt, to prepare the minds of many for the Reformation, and			L. Alamanni.
						N. Tartaglia.
Ottoman Emperors.						Palingenius.
Ba-yezid II. 1512						Jul. Cæsar Scaliger.
Selim I. 1520						Zanchius.
Solyman II. 1566						Gab. Faerno.
Selim II. 1574						Gab. Fallopius.
Morad III. 1595						J. Acronius.
Mohammed III.						Lodovico Cornaro.
						Robertello.
Czars of Moscovy.						Palearius.
John Basilowitz 1505						Onuph. Panvini.
Basil Ivanowitz, who						Argentieri.
						J. Bar de Vignole.
						Paul Manutius.
						Jerome Cardan.
						A. Palladio.
						C. Sigonius.
						P. Victorius.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
received from Maximilian I. the title of Emperor 1533 John Basilowitz II. 1584 Theodore Ivanowitz 1597 Boris Godenow.			thus rendered its progress more rapid.			Oct. Ferrari. James Zabarella. L. Guicciardini. A. de Costanzo. Torq. Tasso. Fr. Patritius, or Patrizi. Ant. Riccoboni. G. Panciroli. And. Cesalpino. Natalis Comes. Aldrovandi. Gratiani. B. Guarini.
Stadt-holders of the United Provinces. William I. the glorious founder of their liberty 1584 Maurice.						*Swiss Authors.* Aur. Ph. Paracelsus. Theod. Bibliander. Theod. Swinger. Isaac Casaubon. *German, Dutch, and Flemish Authors.* J. Reuchlin. P. Mosellan. M. Aurogallus, who assisted Luther in the translation of the Bible. H. C. Agrippa. D. Erasmus of Rotterdam. Luscinius. Simon Grynæus. Adr. Barland of Zealand. Nic. Copernicus, a Prussian.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
						J. Secundus of the Hague.
						J. Olaus Magnus.
						Peutinger.
						Paul Fagius.
						Sebastian Munster.
						G. Agricola.
						John Sleidan.
						Gasp. Braschius.
						P. Lotichius.
						Conrad Gesner.
						G. Fabricius.
						A Masius.
						Joach. Camerarius.
						Vigilius of Zuichem.
						Hubert Goltzius.
						John Sturmius.
						J. Sambuc.
						A. G. de Busbec.
						J. Leunclavius.
						G. Mercator.
						Læv. Torrentius.
						Raphelengius.
						Ortelius.
						Heurnius of Utrecht.
						Justus Lipsius.
						Paul Merula of Leyden.
						A. Gorlæus.
						Schonæus.
						Em. van Meteren.
						Dom. Baudius.
						Danish Authors.
						Tycho Brahe, the astronomer.
						Nicolas Craig.

CENTURY XVII.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors, A. D.	Clement VIII. 1605	Dr. J. Whitgift 1604	*Protestant Writers.*	The doctrine of the Jesuits, concerning philosophical sin, condemned by pope Alexander VIII. in 1690.	The congregation *de propaganda Fide,* founded at Rome in 1622, by pope Gregory XV.	No century has been so fertile in authors as this before us. Their number amounts to above 850. We shall confine ourselves to those who were most eminent in each country.
Rodolph II. 1612	Leo XI. 1605	Dr. R. Bancroft 1610	Archbishop Abbot.			
Matthias 1619	Paul V. 1621	Dr. George Abbot 1633	John Lightfoot.			
Ferdinand II. 1637	Gregory XV. 1623	Dr. W. Laud 1645	Matthew Poole.	The Probabilists (so the Jesuits were called from their odious doctrine of probability,) condemned by the Sorbonne.	Christianity is propagated in the kingdoms of Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin-china, by the Jesuit missionaries.	
Ferdinand III. 1657	Urban VIII. 1644	Dr. W. Juxon. 1663	Bishop Pearson.			
Leopold I.	Innocent X. 15 5	Dr. Gil. Sheldon. 1677	Bishop Fell.			
Kings of Spain.	Alexander VII. 1667	Dr. W. Sancroft, deprived in 1690, died in 1693.	Gataker.		The thirty years' war breaks out.	
Philip III. 1621	Clement IX. 1669		Bishop Ward.	The Franciscans are judged heretics on account of their doctrine concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.		
Philip IV. 1665	Clement X. 1676	Dr. John Tillotso , 1694	Owen.		The Moors are driven out of Spain.	
(Portugal throws off the Spanish yoke, and recovers its independence, in the year 1640).	Innocent XI. 1689	Dr. Thomas Tenison.	Edward Pococke.		The Protestants are persecuted in France.	
Charles II. 1700	Alexander VIII. 1691		Dr. Goodwin.		The Gunpowder-Treason discovered in England.	
Sovereigns of France.	Innocent XII. 1700		Dr. Manton.	Jansenius, Quesnel, and Arnauld, as also Fenelon, Molinos, and the pietists, are condemned in France.	A rupture between pope Paul V. and the Venetians.	
Henry IV. 1610			Richard Baxter.		The Royal Society is founded in the year 1662.	
Louis XIII. 1643			Dr. Calamy.		A Jubilee is celebrated by pope Clement VIII. in the year 1600.	
Louis XIV.			Howe.			
Sovereigns of England.			Bates.	Arminius, and his followers, the Universalists, Bekker, the Cartesian	In 1605, Maurice, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, introduces the reformed religion into Marpurg.	
Elizabeth 1603			Bishop Bull.			
James I. (VI. of Scotland.) 1625			Grew.			
Charles I. beheaded in the year 1649			Bishop Burnet.		Paul V. excommunicates the	
			Jo. Forbes.			
			J. Baxter.			
			Archbishop Tillotson.			
			Dr. Sherlock.			
			Archbishop Wake.			
			Chillingworth.			
			Henry Hammond.			
			Thomas Hyde.			
			William Cave.			
			Brian Walton.			
			Drusius.			
			Hospinian.			
			Trigland.			

In Great Britain and Ireland.

Sir John Harrington.
James Harrington.
J. Pitt.
R. Stanihurst.
Sir Henry Saville.
Thomas Hariot, the inventor of Algebra.
W. Camden.
Nicolas Fuller.
Benjamin Jonson.
Shakespear, or Shakspeare.
Henry Wotton.
Thomas Lydiat.
Joseph Hall, called the English Seneca.
Lord Her-

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Cromwell usurps the government under the title of Lord Protector, and dies in 1658 Charles II. 1685 James II. abandons his kingdom in the year 1688, and dies in 1701 William III. and Mary 1694			Ittigius. Fr. Spanheim. R. Cudworth. Ed. Stillingfleet. H. Prideaux. J. Locke. W. Lloyd, bishop of Worcester. J. Milton. St. Nye. Claude. Daille. J. Morin. Amyrault. Samuel and James Basnage. Jurieu. Benoit. Turretin. Elias Saurin. Morus. Le Cene. Mesterzat. Le Blanc. Arminius. Grotius. Episcopius. Curcellæus. Limborch. Sleidan. Coccelus. Voetius. Gomar. Lud. Capellus, or Louis Capel. S. Bochart. Gerhard. Hoe. Calixtus. G. and Fred. Heilbronner. Haffenreffer. Thummius. The Osianders. Musæus. Hutter. Hunnius, Guy and Nic.	divines, Labadie. Bourignon, Poiret, Leehoff, and Claude Pajon, are regarded as heretics by the reformed churches in France and Holland. The Indepe dents, Antinomians, Ranters, and Quakers, and among the latter, Fox, Barclay, Keith, and Penn, are looked upon in the same light. Add to these, Enthusiasts, and Fanatics of various kinds, such as Jacob Behmen, Valentine Weigel, Nic. Drabicius, Seidel. Stifelius, and the Rosecrucians.	Venetians, whose cause is defended by Fra. Paolo. In the year 1606, Rodolph II. allows the Hungarians the free exercise of the Protestant religion, formerly granted by Ferdinand I. but abolished by his successor. In 1608, the Socinians publish their Catechism at Cracow. The Silesians, Moravians, and Bohemians, are allowed by Rodolph II. the free exercise of their religion in 1609. The Protestants form a confederacy at Heilbron, in 1610; and the Roman catholics form a league at Wurtzburg in opposition to it. The Bohemians choose Frederic V. elector Palatine, for their king, in order to maintain them in the free exercise of the Protestant religion;—but he is conquered, and they are forced to embrace popery. In 1625, the princes of Lower Saxony enter into a league with Christian IV. of Den-	bert of Cherbury. Thomas Gataker. W. Habington. Archbishop Usher. W. Harvey, who first discovered the circulation of the blood. Sir Ken. Digby. Sir James Ware. John Milton. Abraham Cowley. The Chancellor Clarendon. Sir Matthew Hale. Fr. Glisson. Thomas Stanley. Joseph Glanvil. Samuel Butler. Algernon Sidney. John Collins, mathematician. Robert Morison. William Dugdale. Ralph Cudworth. J. Rushworth. Robert Boyle. John Locke. W. Molyneux. Sir W. Temple. Sir Paul Ricaut.
Kings of Scotland. James VI. 1625 This prince and his successors were kings both of England and Scotland so far down as the year 1707, when these kingdoms were united into one monarchy.						
Kings of Sweden. Charles IX. 1611 Gustavus Adolphus 1632 Christina abdicates the crown in 1654, and dies in 1689. Charles Gustavus 1660						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Charles XI. 1697 Charles XII.			The Mentzers. Godfrey Olearius. Fred. Baldwin. Alb. Grawer. Carpzovius. Tarnovius. J. and Paul John Asselman. Eilhart Luber. The Lysers. Michael Walter. Joach. Hildebrand. J. Val. Andreas. Solomon Glassius. Ab. Calovius. Theod. Hachspan. J. Hulseman. Jacob Weller. J. Conr. Danhauer. J. G. Dorschæus. John Arndt. Martin Geyer. Schertzer. Balthasar and John Meisner. Aug. Pfeiffer. Muller. H. and J. Just. Chr. Schomer. Sebast. Schmidt. Christ. Horsholt. Ph. Jac. Spener. G. Th. Mayer.		mark, which concludes by the peace of Lubeck. Ferdinand II. publishes, in 1629, an edict, ordering the Protestants to surrender and restore all the ecclesiastical domains and possessions of which they had become masters after the pacification of Passau.—This edict is disobeyed. Gustavus Adolphus enters Germany. The peace of Munster and Osnabrug concluded, by which the three religions are tolerated in the empire. The synod of Dordrecht assembled in the year 1618. Henry IV. of France is assassinated by Ravaillac. This event exposes the Protestants to new persecutions. The edict of Nantes is perfidiously revoked by Louis XIV. and the Protestants are treated with the utmost barbarity. A contest between Louis XIV. and pope	H. Hody. Bishop Beverege. Sir Samuel Garth. Thomas Gale. John Philips. Bishop Sprat. Thomas Dempster. John Fletcher. Ph. Massinger. Edm. Gunter. Francis Bacon, lord Verulam. Thomas Ridley. John Speed. John Donne. Bishop Godwin, the annalist. Edward Coke. Thomas Randolph. Thomas Farnaby. John Napier, inventor of logarithms. G. Keating. John Greaves. Edward Simson. John Selden. William Burton. Richard Zouch. W. Oughtred. B. Walton. P. Heylin. James Howel.
Kings of Denmark. Christian IV. 1648 Frederic III. 1670 Christern V. 1699 Frederic IV.						
Kings of Poland. Sigismund III. 1632 Uladislaus Sig. 1648 John Casimir 1669 Michael I. 1674 John Sobieski 1696 Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony.						
Kings of Portugal. John, duke of Braganza, chosen king in 1640, died in 1656 Alphonso VI. dethroned in 1667 Pedro II.						
Ottoman Emperors. Mohammed III. 1604 Ahmed I. 1617 Mustapha 1617 Osman 1622 Mustapha restored. 1623						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
Morad IV. 1640			Fred. Bechman.		Innocent XI., concerning the collation of benefices, and the privileges and pretensions of the crown during their vacancy.	Sir John Denham.
Ibrahim 1649			From Gerhard to Fred. Bechman inclusively, all are Lutherans.			Sir John Marsham.
Mohammed IV. 1687						Bishop Wilkins.
Solyman III. 1691						James Gregory.
Ahmed II. 1695					The French clergy, in a general assembly at St. Germain's, declare the pope's pretensions to temporalities null and void; place the authority of a general council above that of the pope, and maintain that his decisions are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.	Thomas Willis.
Mustapha II.						Bulst.
			Roman Catholic Authors.			Whitelocke.
Czars of Moscovy.			Baronius.			John Price.
Boris 1605			Bellarmine.			Isaac Barrow.
Theodore Borissowitz 1605			Serrarius.			Thomas Hobbes.
The false Demetrius 1606			Fevardentius.			Thomas Brown.
Basil Zuski 1610			Possevin.			Thomas Marshal.
Demetrius II. 1610			Gretser.			Edmund Castel.
Demetrius III. 1610			Combesis.			Thomas Otway.
Uladislaus of Poland 1613			Nat. Alexander.			Ed. Waller.
Demetrius IV. 1613			J. Sirmond.			Dr. Sydenham.
Michael Theodorowitz 1645			Petau.			Anthony Wood.
Alexis Michaelowitz 1676			Cellot.			Ed. Bernard, professor of astronomy.
Theodore Alexiowitz 1682			Caussin.			Bishop Stillingfleet.
Ivan, or John, and Peter I. jointly.			Renaud.			William Somner.
Ivan died in 1696			Fra. Paolo.			John Dryden.
			Pallavicini.			John Wallis.
Stadt-holders of the United Provinces.			Labbé.			John Ray.
Maurice 1625			Maimbourg.			D. Gregory.
Frederic Henry 1647			Thomassin.			M. Lister.
			Sfondrat.			Henry Dodwell.
			Aguirre.			N. Grew.
			Henry Noris.			Sir H. Spelman.
			D'Achery.			*French Authors.*
			Mabillon.			J. Aug. de Thou.
			Hardouin.			Pineau.
			Simon.			Gilot.
			Ruinart.			Mornac.
			Montfaucon.			
			Galloni.			
			Cornelius a Lapide.			
			Bonfrere.			
			Menard.			
			Segenot.			
			Bernard.			
			Lamy.			
			Bollandus.			
			Henschen.			
			Papebroch.			
			Perron.			
			Estius.			
			Launoy.			
			Tillemont.			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites	Profane Authors.
William II. 1650 The dignity of Stadtholder remains vacant during the space of 22 years.			Godeau. Albaspinæus. Richelieu. Holstenius. Baluzius. Bona. Huet. Bossuet. Fenelon. Thiers. Du-Pin. Leo Allatius. Zaccagni. Cotelier. Filesac. Visconti. Molina. Arriaga. Rigault. Richer. Pererius. Mariana. Fr. Pithou. Fr. de Sales. M. de Calasio. Lessius. Pineda. C. Jansenius. Bentivoglio. Sponde. Bzovius. H. de Valois. P. de Marca. Arnaud d'Andilly. Du Cange. Pascal. Du Boulay. A. Arnaud. Vavasseur. Neercassel. J. Le Maitre de Sacy. Pagi. Pezron. Gerberon. Quesnel. These are the most distinguished writers of the Romish church during this century.		The glorious Revolution renders memorable the year 1688. The Protestants are oppressed and persecuted in many places. Several false Messiahs discovered, particularly Sabbati Levi, who, to avoid death, embraces the Moslem faith. The universities of Lunden in Sweden, Giessen, Pampeluna, Saltzburg, Derpt in Livonia, Utrecht, Abo, Duisburg, Kiel in Holstein, Inspruck, Halle. The academies of Inscriptions and of Sciences founded at Paris.	P. Matthieu. Du Vair. Fr. Pithou. J. Barclai. Savaron. Pr. Jeannin. Godefroi. Bergier. Le Mercier. Boulanger. Goulart. Malherbe. Marillac. N. and C. Le Bois. J. B. Le Menestrier. J. Bap. Duval. P. Haye du Chastelet. R. Des Cartes. N. Fab. de Peiresc. Henr. duc de Rohan. De Meziriac. J. Bourdelot. J. Guthieres. And. du Chesne. Louis Savot. Val. Conrart. Cardinal Richelieu. Rochemallet. Philip Monet. Nicholas Bourbon. Augustus Galland. J. F. Niceron. Edm. Merille. Samuel Petit. M. Mersenne. Voiture. De Vaugelas. Ch. Justel. Did. Herault. J. Baudouin.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
						P. du Puy.
						G. and L. de St. Marthe.
						Denis Petau.
						G. Fournier.
						Cl. Saumaise.
						G. Naude.
						N. Rigault.
						J. L. de Balzac.
						G. B. de Gramont.
						Sarasin.
						D. Blondel.
						P. Gassendi.
						J. Bignon.
						C. H. Fabrot.
						L. Ch. Le Fevre.
						N. Perrot d'Ablancourt.
						N. Sanson.
						Briet.
						Tan. Le Fevre.
						La Mothe Vayer.
						Moliere.
						G. M. le Jay.
						Roberval.
						Rohault.
						H. and Adr. de Valois.
						F. H. d'Aubignac.
						J. Esprit.
						L. Moreri.
						Duc de Rochefoucault.
						R. le Bossu.
						F. E. de Mezeray.
						P. Corneille.
						Ed. Mariotte.
						J. Spon.
						G. d'Estrades.
						Charles and Claude Perrault.
						P. Bayle.
						Vauban.
						Tournefort.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
						Th. Corneille.
						Boileau.
						Ren. Rapin.
						Jean Doujat.
						Fr. Bernier.
						Ch. Du Fresne.
						Du Cange.
						Is. de Benserade.
						Thevenot.
						G. Menage.
						De St. Real.
						Pelisson.
						Bussy Rabutin.
						Ch. Patin.
						B. d'Herbelot.
						Cl. Lancelot.
						St. Evremond.
						Amelot de la Houssaye.
						Louis Cousin.
						F. S. Regn.
						Des Marais.
						A. Felibien.
						Jean de la Bruyere.
						Sim. Foucher.
						J. Domat.
						J. B. Santeuil.
						C. P. Richelet.
						P. J. d'Orleans.
						J. Racine.
						J. Barbeyrac.
						J. B. Morin.
						Baudrand.
						Segrais.
						Chevreau.
						Charpentier.
						Bouhours.
						Marquis de l'Hopital.
						Vaillant.
						P. Silv. Regis.
						Theod. Agrip. d'Aubigné.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
						Italian Authors.
						Prosper Alpini.
						B. Baldi.
						J. A. Magini.
						A. Morosini.
						Luc. Valeri.
						Paul Beni.
						Davila.
						L. Pignoria.
						Salvador.
						Sanctorius.
						Thomas Campanella.
						Alexander Donato.
						Mascardi
						Galilei.
						Bentivoglio.
						Strozzi.
						Leo de Modena.
						Bonav.
						Cavalieri.
						Ev. Torricelli.
						J. V. Rossi.
						Fam. Strada.
						T. Galluzzi.
						Martini.
						Imperiali.
						Tomassini.
						Virgilio Malvezzi.
						Molinetti.
						Sert. Orsato.
						J. B. Nani.
						J. A. Borelli.
						Ricci.
						Oct. Ferrari.
						Bartalocci.
						M. Malpighi.
						Bellori.
						Viviani.
						Bellini.
						Bocconi.
						Averani.
						Cassini.
						Magalotti.
						Spanish and Portuguese Authors.
						Cervantes.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
						Antonio de Ledesma.
						J. Mariana, the historian.
						Antonio Herrera, the historian.
						Aldrete, the antiquarian.
						Balbuena.
						J. L. de la Cerda.
						Lopez de Vega, the Spanish Homer.
						Nic. de Antonio.
						Balth. Gracian
						Diego de Couto.
						Jos. Texeira.
						Rod. Lobo.
						Eman. Faria è Sousa.
						Ant. Perez.
						Man. Alvarez.
						Pegase.
						German, Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, &c. Authors.
						Pauw, Anatomy.
						Aiguillon.
						Emmius.
						Gruterus.
						Bertius.
						Andr. Schott.
						Martinius.
						Snellius of Leyden.
						James and Adrian Metius.
						Cunæus.
						J. Meursius.
						Louis de Dieu.
						J. B. van Helmont.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
						Hugo Grotius.
						Louis de Dieu.
						Erycius Puteanus.
						Gasp. Barlæus.
						Van Hooft.
						Const. Imperator.
						Manasseh Ben-Israel.
						B. Varenius.
						Sanderus.
						Vander-Linden.
						J. Golius.
						Aitzema.
						Hœschelius.
						Ch. Helvicus.
						Melchior Adam.
						Cluverius.
						Hospinian.
						Rosinus.
						Buxtorf, father and son.
						Kepler.
						Goldast.
						Horstius.
						Sennert.
						Erasmus Schmidt.
						Alstedius.
						J. F. Gronovius.
						Meric Casaubon.
						Fr. Junius.
						Conringius.
						R. Heinsius.
						Noldius.
						H. Meibomius.
						Olaus Wormius.
						Jos. Arndius.
						J. G. Suicer.
						Wetstein.
						Gurtler.
						Thomasius.
						J. P. Pareus.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
						Hoffman.
						Scioppius.
						G. J. Vossius.
						Barthius.
						Freinsheim.
						Schrevelius.
						J. Gerard Hornius.
						Etmuller.
						Olaus Rudbeck.
						Bartholinus, father and son.
						Isaac Pontanus.
						Chr. Longomontanus.
						J. Rhodius.
						Bangius.
						Ad. Olearius.
						Graaf.
						Swammerdam.
						Ath. Kircher.
						Anna Maria Schurman.
						Ab. de Wicquefort.
						J. Kunckel.
						Ludolf.
						J. G. Grævius.
						Burchard de Volder.
						Varenius.
						Dodonæus.
						Otto Guerick, inventor of the air-pump.
						Morhoff.
						Isaac Vossius.
						Olaus Borrichius.
						G. Sagittarius.
						J. Tollius.
						Huygens.
						Pufendorff.
						Leusden.
						Wagenseil.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, real or reputed.*	*Remarkable Events. Religious Rites.*	*Profane Authors.*
						Brockhuisen. Cellarius. Ezekiel Spanheim.

CENTURY XVIII.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, and Free-Thinkers.*	*Remarkable Events in the Church.*	*Profane Authors.*
Emperors of Germany. A. D. Leopold 1705 Joseph 1711 Charles VI. 1740 Charles VII. (elector of Bavaria) 1745 Francis of Lorrain 1765 Joseph II. 1790 Leopold II. 1792 Francis II.	Clement XI. 1721 Innocent XIII. 1724 Benedict XIII. 1730 Clement XII. 1740 Benedict XIV. 1758 Clement XIII. 1769 Clement XIV. 1774 Pius VI. 1799 Pius VII.	Dr. Thomas Tenison 1715 Dr. William Wake 1737 Dr. John Potter 1747 Dr. Thomas Herring 1757 Dr. Matthew Hutton 1758 Dr. Thomas Secker 1768 Dr. Frederic Cornwallis 1783 Dr. John Moore.	N. B. In this list, only deceased authors are mentioned. *Protestant Writers.* Sir Isaac Newton. Dr. Bentley. Archbishops Wake, Potter, and Secker. Bishops Hare, Cumberland, Atterbury, Berkeley, Butler, Benson, Smallridge, Sherlock, Conybeare, Warburton, Lowth, Hurd, Horsley, and Porteus. Dr. Mill. Dr. Edwards.	John Toland. Matthew Tindall. Ant. Collins. Thomas Woolston. Charles Blount. Thomas Chubb. Thomas Morgan. Bernard de Mandeville. Lord Bolingbroke, and others less worthy of notice. Among the sects of this century we may reckon the Herrenhutters, or Moravian brethren, and the followers of Whitefield, Wesley,	The French missionaries make many converts to popery in the eastern parts of the world; in the Carnatic, on the coast of Malabar, in China, &c. A great controversy is occasioned by the indulgence of the Jesuits towards the Chinese, in allowing them to retain the religious ceremonies of paganism. Protestant missionaries are sent to India by the English, Dutch, and Danes. The bull *Unigenitus*, issued by Clement XI. in 1713, con-	Sir Isaac Newton. J. Flamsteed. J. Keill. Maclaurin. Bradley. Dr. Clarke. Dr. Bentley. Bishop Hare. Addison. Pope. Gay. Prior. Dr. Swift. Sir R. Steele. Dr. Arbuthnot. Dr. Freind. Dr. Mead. Dr. Woodward. Sir Hans Sloane. Sir Christopher Wren. Dr. Halley. Dr. Hutcheson, the metaphysician. Dr. Middleton.
Kings of Spain. Philip V. resigns the crown in 1724 Louis dies in 1724 Philip re-ascends the						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, and Free-Thinkers.*	*Remarkable Events in the Church.*	*Profane Authors.*
throne; and dies in 1746			Dr. Whitby.	and Swedenborg.	demns Quesnel's edition of	Dr. Berkeley, bishop
Ferdinand VI. 1759			Dr. Clarke.		the New Testament, and	of Cloyne.
Charles III. 1788			W. Whiston.		produces violent debates	The lords Shaftesbury
Charles IV.			Wollaston.		and divisions in	and Bolingbroke.
			The lord-chancellor King.		the Gallican	Congreve.
Kings of France.			Dr. J. Leland.		church, more	Wycherly.
Louis XIV. 1715			Dr. Derham.		especially between the Jesuits and the	Sir John Vanbrugh.
Louis XV. 1774			Jeremiah Seed.		Jansenists. The	Lord Somers.
Louis XVI.			James Hervey.		latter endeavour to support	Mrs. Cockburn.
deposed in 1792			Balguy.		their declining	Nicholas and Thomas Rowe.
and beheaded in 1793			Chapman.		credit by fictitious miracles,	Mrs. Rowe.
After several changes of government, Bonaparte became sovereign of France in 1799 under the denomination of first consul, for which he afterwards substituted the more dignified title of emperor.			Dr. Jortin.		said to be	Thomson.
			Dr. Paley.		wrought at the	Dr. Young.
			Dr. Blair.		tomb of the abbé Paris.	Akenside.
			Dr. Hickes.			Armstrong.
			Abernethy.		The study of	Collins.
			Dr. George Benson.		philosophy is	Gray.
			Dr. Chandler.		placed on a new	Lord Lyttelton.
			Dr. James Foster.		footing in Germany, by	Glover.
			Dr. Watts.		Leibnitz and	Goldsmith.
			Dr. Doddridge.		Wolff; and	Churchill.
			Dr. Taylor, of Norwich.		their method of	Cowper.
			Pierce.		demonstration	Burns.
			Hallet.		is transferred	Foote.
			Grove.		by some divines	Colman.
			Lardner.		to theology.	The earl of Chesterfield.
			Dr. Priestley.		Christopher Matthew Pfaff,	Horace, earl of Orford.
			French, Swiss, German, and Dutch Writers.		a very learned and respectable	Sir William Blackstone.
Sovereigns of Great Britain.			Abbadie.		divine, forms a	Hume.
William III. 1702			Pictet.		plan of reconciliation and	Robertson.
Anne 1714			James Saurin.		union between	Stuart.
George I. 1727			Oudin.		the Lutheran	Gibbon.
George II. 1760			Ostervald.		and reformed	Burnet, or lord Monboddo.
George III.			Jurieu.		churches; the	Home, or lord Kames.
			Turretin.		execution of	Sir William Jones.
Sovereigns of Sweden.			Werenfels.		which, however, is prevented by bigotry and	Harris.
Charles XII. 1718			Vitringa.		party spirit.	Dr Johnson.
			Leydeiker.		Sacheverel, an	Adam Smith.
			Marck.		incendiary,	Burke.
			Braun.		who inveighs against civil	Richardson.
					and religious	

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, and Free-Thinkers.*	*Remarkable Events in the Church.*	*Profane Authors.*
Ulrica Eleonora 1751 Frederic of Hesse Cassel 1751 Adolphus of Holstein 1771 Gustavus III. —assassinated in 1792 Gustavus IV. deposed by his uncle in 1809			Jablonski. Mosheim. Witsius and Trigland of Leyden. Spener. Pecht. Mayer. Masius. Wandalinus. Wincler. Fabricius. Schmidt. Rechenberg. Ittigius. Seeligman. Loscher. Foertsch. Buddeus. Luthenius. Antonius. Franckius. Langius. Maius. Pritius. N. B. The twenty writers last mentioned are Lutherans.		liberty, is impeached and censured. Lady Moyer founds a lecture for the defence of the Trinity. Dr. Bampton also establishes a lecture at Oxford, for the general defence of Christianity. The Protestant religion, and the blessings of civil liberty, are established in Great-Britain by the accession of the house of Brunswick-Lunenburg to the throne.	Fielding. Smollett. Dr. Moore. Dr. William Hunter. John Hunter. Pott. Dr. Heberden. Sir John Pringle. Dr. Cullen. Dr. Brown. Dr. Darwin. Dr. Black. Stephen Hales. Henry Cavendish. Dr. Priestley.
Kings of Denmark. Frederic IV. 1730 Christiern VI. 1746 Frederic V. 1766 Christiern VII.			*Romish Authors.* Gonsalez, Beaugendre. Papin. Van Espen. F. Lami. Pouget. Des-Marets. D. de St. Marthe. Hyac. Serri. G. Helyot. F. Timoleon de Choisi. Huet. J. Martianay. Hure. Habert. Fleuri. Massillon. Eusebius Renaudot.		An attempt is made to assassinate Louis XV. by Damien, who is supposed (but not on sufficient grounds) to have been instigated by the Jesuits to that nefarious act. Louis suppresses the order of Jesuits in France, shuts their schools, and confiscates their revenues, in the year 1764. The kings of Portugal and Spain banish all Jesuits from their dominions. Pope Clement XIV. dissolves the order in 1773.	*French Authors.* Malebranche. B. Lamy. Lemery. Fenelon. Sauveur. P. de la Hire. Flechier. Le Vassor. J. F. Simon. Isaac de Larrey. J. F. Felibien. Andrew and Anne Dacier. Claudius and William de l'Isle. Renaudot. Tarteron. Huet. J. le Long. Boulainvilliers. Louis and John Bovin. Rapin de Thoyras.
Kings of Poland. Frederic Augustus 1733 Stanislaus is twice elected, but abdicates the crown. Frederic Augustus II. 1764 Stanislaus, count Poniatowski, succeeds; but he is deposed by foreign powers in 1794, and the kingdom is dismembered.						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Heretics, and Free-Thinkers.	Remarkable Events in the Church.	Profane Authors.
Sovereigns of Portugal.			Houdry.		A revolution breaks out in France in 1789; and, in its progress, the Gallican church is nearly annihilated; but Bonaparte restores catholicism. Pope Pius VI. is deposed by the French, and dies in exile, in 1799.	James Basnage.
Peter II.			P. Constant.			J. and P. E. Savary.
			Baltus.			Louis de Sacy.
John V. 1750			P. de la Broue.			Du Resnel.
Joseph 1777			G. Daniel.			N. L. de la Caille.
Maria.			Hardouin.			B. de la Monnoye.
			J. J. Boileau.			The abbé Fraguier.
Turkish Emperors.			Marsollier.			Gabriel Daniel.
			Garnier.			G. J. du Verney.
Mustapha 1708			Le Bœuf.			Vaincourt.
Ahmed III. deposed in 1730			Anselme.			Geoffroy.
			Joubert.			De la Mothe.
			Tournemine.			Joachim le Grand.
Mahmoud 1754			Duguet.			Sanadon.
			Longuerue.			Dumont.
Osman III. 1757			Le Quien.			Vertot.
			Longueval.			Catrou.
Mustapha III. 1774			Vertot.			Rouillé.
			Gibert.			Beausobre.
Abdulhamed 1789			Martenne.			The abbé de la Bleterie.
			Boursier.			Niceron.
Selim III.			Blondel.			De la Barre.
			Montfaucon.			Melcn.
Russian Sovereigns.			C. de la Rue.			De la Cense.
			Sabatier.			Vanier.
Peter the Great. 1725			Benoit.			Montfaucon.
			Colbert.			Rollin.
Catharine I. 1727			Languet.			Longuerue.
			Dantine.			Banier.
Peter II. 1730			Houteville.			Cardinal Polignac.
			Lenglet du-Fresnoi.			J. J. Rousseau.
Anne. 1740			Martin.			Du-Bois.
			Berruyer.			Brumoy.
Ivan, or John —deposed in 1741, and assassinated in 1762			De Caylus.			Velly.
			Bon. Racine.			Villaret.
			Calmet.			Bourget.
			Celier.			Bignon.
			Maran.			Goguet.
			Des-Champs.			Abbé de St. Pierre.
Elizabeth 1762			Morvan de Bellegarde.			Fontenelle.
Peter III. murdered in 1762			The popes Clement XI.			Du-Halde.
			Benedict XIII. and XIV.			De Moivre.
Catharine II. 1796			Orsini.			
			Muratori.			
States-holders of the United Provinces.			Bianchini.			
			Orsi.			
William III. 1762			Tomasi.			
This dignity			Banduri.			

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, and Free-Thinkers.*	*Remarkable Events in the Church.*	*Profane Authors.*
remained vacant for 45 years.						Bougeant.
William IV. 1751						Folard.
William V. deposed by the French in 1795.						Marquis de Puy-Segur.
						M. D'Argens.
						Abbé Des-Fontaines.
						Freret.
						Le Sage.
						The Fourmonts.
Kings of Prussia.						Montesquieu.
Frederic I. 1713						Mongault.
Frederic William I. 1740						Gabrielle du Chastelet.
Frederic II. 1786						Des-touches.
Frederic William II. 1797						Terrasson.
Frederic William III.						Caylus.
						Casp. de Real.
Kings of Sardinia.						Crevier.
Victor Amadeus I. 1730						Marmontel.
Charles Emanuel 1773						Reaumur.
Victor II. 1796						Du-Hamel.
						Le Gendre.
						Morabin.
						Helvetius.
						Maupertuis.
						Condillac.
						D'Alembert.
						Voltaire.
						The Crebillons.
						Diderot.
						Condorcet.
						Clairault.
						Buffon.
						Lavoisier.
						Bailly.
						Mirabeau.
						Italian Authors.
						Poli.
						Magliabechi.
						Musitani.
						Battaglini.
						Gravina.
						Lancisi.
						Buonanni.
						Zanicheli.
						Fontanini.
						Micheli.
						Manfredi.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, and Free-Thinkers.*	*Remarkable Events in the Church.*	*Profane Authors.*
						Giannone. Muratori. Zeno. Maffei. Cardinals Quirini and Passionei. Buonamici. Cassini. Beccaria. Spalanzani. Metastasio. *Swiss Writers.* D. and J. le Clerc. Konig. Burlamaqui. Schenchzer. Crousaz. The Bernouillis. Euler. De Saussure. De Luc. Haller. Mallet. Sol. Gesner. *German Authors.* Leibnitz. Wolff. Krosig. Kuster. Moller. J. A. Schmidt. Eccard. Mencke. Hubner. J. A. Fabricius. Neumann. Heineccius. C. Wormius. Keysler. Doppelmaier. Reiske. Werner. Pallas. Zimmermann. Herder.

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Heretics, and Free-Thinkers.*	*Remarkable Events in the Church.*	*Profane Authors.*
						Gellert. Mendelsohn. Klopstock. Muller. *Dutch Writers.* Adrian Reland. J. F. Gronovius. Cuper. Perizonius. Nieuwentyt. Noodt. Hartsoeker. Bynkershoek. Boerhaave. W. J. Gravesande. Schultens. Van Loon. Muschenbroek. Wesseling. Havercamp. Hemsterhuis. Nieuland. *Russian Writers.* Prince Cherbatoff. Lomonoseff. Sumorokoff. *Danish and Swedish Authors.* Baron Holberg. Fabricius. C. von Linné, or Linnæus. Sir Torbern Bergman. Scheele.

CENTURY XIX.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.	Sectaries.	Remarkable Events in the Church.	Profane Authors.
Emperor of Germany or of Austria. Francis II.	Pius VII. 1823 Leo XII.	Dr. John Moore 1805 Dr. Charles Manners Sutton.	Dr. Richard Watson, bishop of Llandaff. Dr. George Horne, bishop of Norwich. Dr. Joseph White. Dr. Joshua Toulmin.	Joanna Southcott. The baroness von Krudenér.	Napoleon concludes a treaty with the pope, in 1801, for the adjustment of the religious concerns of France. The French seise the pope's territories, confine his holiness, and leave him only a shadow of power. In 1809, by the new constitution of Sweden, a full religious toleration is allowed. Recovering his authority in 1814, the pope annuls the French regulations at Rome, re-establishes the monastic orders, and revives the Society of Jesuits. By the union of the Austrian Netherlands with Holland, in 1814, the catholics lose their sway in the former country. In several of the German states, the Lutherans and Calvinists, in 1817 and 1818, enter into an union. In 1817, Louis XVIII. con-	Richard Porson, Greek professor at Cambridge. Lord Byron. Elizabeth Carter. Anna Seward. Dr. Erasmus Darwin. Dr. James Beattie. Richard Cumberland. Richard Brinsley Sheridan. John Horne Tooke. John Wolcot. *French Writers.* Madame de Stael. Madame Cottin. *German Authors.* Klopstock. Schiller. Wieland. Kotzebue.
Kings of Spain. Charles IV. is deposed by Napoleon, 1808. Ferdinand VII. succeeds; but he is involved into France. Joseph Bonaparte usurps the throne, and reigns over a part of the kingdom, while the other parts are ruled by a Council of state and the Cortes. In 1814, Ferdinand was liberated by the tyrant, and restored; and is still [in 1826] ruler of a reluctant nation.						
Sovereigns of Portugal. Maria 1816 John VI. 1826						
Sovereigns of France. Bonaparte, or the em-						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Sectaries.*	*Remarkable Events in the Church.*	*Profane Authors.*
peror Napoleon, reigned until the year 1814: he was then deposed and banished. In 1815, he regained his power, but lost it before the end of the year.					cludes a concordat with the pope. The year 1825 is marked, at Rome, by the solemnity of a Jubilee.	
Louis XVIII. 1824 Charles X.						
King of Holland. Louis Bonaparte, from 1806 to 1810.						
King of the Netherlands. William VI. prince of Orange.						
King of Prussia. Frederic V. or Frederic-William III.						
Kings of Bavaria. Maximilian 1824 Charles Louis.						
King of Saxony. Frederic Augustus.						
Kings of Wurtemberg. Frederic William 1817 His son.						

Sovereign Princes.	*Popes, or Bishops of Rome.*	*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	*Sectaries.*	*Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers.*	*Remarkable Events in the Church.*	*Profane Authors.*
King of Hanover. George Augustus, also king of Great Britain.						
Kings of Sweden. Gustavus IV. deposed in 1809 Charles XIII. 1818 Charles XIV.						
Kings of Denmark. Christiern VII. 1808 Frederic VI.						
Emperors of Russia. Paul, murdered in 1801 Alexander 1825 Nicolas.						
Emperors of Turkey. Selim III. dethroned in 1807 Mustapha IV. deposed in 1808 Mahmoud II.						
Kings of Naples and Sicily. Ferdinand IV. 1824 Francis.						
Kings of Sardinia. Charles Emanuel II. resigned 1802 Victor III. resigned 1821 Charles Felix.						

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THE END.

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ERRATA.

Vol. i. p. 128, for *idles*, read *idols*.
—— iii. p. 65, for 1046, read 1146; p. 256, near the end of the note, transpose *power* and *pontiff*.
—— iv. p. 112, in the note, *dele* " two unfortunate foreigners," and, for *Briton*, read *Protestant*.

N. B. The *translator's* annotations are thus marked—☞ to distinguish them from those of the *author;* and the few notes which have since been introduced are stated to be those of the *editor;* but this distinction has not been properly observed in vol. v. p. 434, where two notes are amalgamated which were intended to be decidedly distinct. The *translator*, in one of them, left a particular point unsettled;—the *editor*, in the other, supplied the deficiency.

After the words *supposed fact*, there ought to be a break, thus—— * * * " The translator," &c.